



H 229/15





Mores Catholici;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK XI.



LONDON, MDCCCXLII.

SOLD BY CHARLES DOLMAN,
BOND-STREET.

This volume is sold in aid of the funds for building in London the Church P. S. J. under the title of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.



GILBERT & RIVINGTON, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction to the subject of the eighth beatitude—How far the just were exempt from persecution in Ages of Faith—The old experience of the world however still verified—The true spirit of martyrdom prevailed in the middle ages—The earnestness, resolution, and courage of men—Their fortitude; their chivalrous constancy—Their rejection of the spirit of false peace and of selfish enjoyment—Their detachment from earthly treasures; they were indefatigable to act and to suffer like the primitive martyrs—Many desired martyrdom—Distinctions laid down—They were to be actuated by the desire of pleasing God—Their sacrifice was to be voluntary—There was to be no needless defiance of danger—They were to be pacific and obedient as far as was compatible with duty to God—Contrast between the Catholic and Protestant spirit in this respect—The obligation of patience enforced—Charity was the root of their fortitude, men sought to imitate the passion of Christ—Hence it was a supernatural heroism—The spirit of martyrdom in the women of the middle ages—And in youth and childhood p. 1

CHAPTER II.

Doctrine of the Ages of Faith respecting qualifications and distinctions required to constitute martyrdom—Security then against the modern errors as evinced in new martyrologies, and in the English regicides—The cause was to be just, and not dependent on the judgment of man: but any cause of natural justice was deemed sufficient: hence men were deemed martyrs for justice in government; for wisdom and fortitude in the administration of states; for loyalty to the legitimate sovereign; for fidelity to the duty of protecting religion; for rejecting the temptations of ambition—For justice, as ministers of kings, and as magistrates, as public men, as scientific discoverers, as simple Catholics in the common walks of life, as children and youths from the harshness of parents and masters, as the poor from the cruelty of the rich, as artisans from the tyranny of their employers, as servants from the harshness of masters, as subjects from unjust laws p. 53

CHAPTER III.

Doctrine of the Ages of Faith respecting the necessity of enduring persecution—Testimony of the ancients—Reflections of the schoolmen—History of Christian persecution from the birth of Christ—That of the

primitive Church familiar to the memory of men in the middle ages—
Conflicts with paganism, with heresy in the second period of the Church;
these were their familiar themes p. 85

CHAPTER IV.

Persecutions continued in the middle ages from Pagans—In two modes
protracted—By lingering opposition, by invasion, by slavery, and by re-
sisting missions—Persecution from Mahometans—Caused the crusades—
Persecution of the slaves in Africa and Asia, and of the religious men who
laboured to redeem them—Persecution of the Christian population by the
descent of pirates, and of the missionaries who preached to the Moors—
Persecutions of the Christians by the Jews—By the Manichæans—Tradi-
tions of their cruelty p. 102

CHAPTER V.

Persecution incurred by admonishing wicked Christians—All were
bound by this duty—Danger of correcting them—Doctrine of the middle
ages on this point—Friends were to give each other free counsel—Char-
acter of the great—Vigilance of the Popes and of the Bishops in regard
to them—Examples of the sufferings of holy men in consequence of
endeavours to correct wicked princes—Persecution incurred by preaching,
and by the ordinary offices of the pastoral care p. 130

CHAPTER VI.

Persecution suffered by all Christians generally, when evincing eminent
sanctity—Writers of the middle ages show that this was a necessary con-
sequence—Testimony of the ancients concurs—In the Church the chaff
must seek to oppress the wheat—Examples of holy persons suffering for
being holy, for observing the commands of the Church, for doing what
was right; for being just; for showing an example of Catholic manners,
even in retirement, in consequence of which they are shunned and dis-
liked—Examples of such treatment—On what grounds it amounts to
persecution—Persecution on account of sanctity followed men even
within the cloister—Tepid and unworthy monks persecute their holy
brethren for being more holy, and for seeking to reform their own monas-
teries or orders—Examples—Persecutions incurred generally in conse-
quence of great spiritual wisdom—Those who possessed it were despised
as visionary and insane—Experience and testimony of the ancient world
—Examples from Christian history—Persecution of the holy by the just
—Examples—Its origin and effects explained p. 156

CHAPTER VII.

Persecution of the Church collectively by the world—Sufferings of holy
men incurred by defending its liberty—The chief epochs distinguished—
Justice of this cause considered, in early times, in the case of St. Thomas
of Canterbury, in the case of holy men defending the Church property
—Testimony of the contemporaries of St. Thomas—Judgment of persons
not involved in the contest—Judgment of the people p. 206

CHAPTER VIII.

The general character of the persecutors—The kings; their instruments
—Legists, unworthy priests, men of blood—Examples—Their policy the
same in all ages—Their hatred of Rome—Their arts to impede its
action p. 236

CHAPTER IX.

The heroic patience of those who defended the Church—The moderation of the Holy See—Its indulgence appears excessive—Complaints in consequence during the struggle with Hen. II. in England—Its pacific exercise of authority—Examples—Courage of the episcopacy—Bishops encourage each other—The meekness and humility of their deportment
p. 277

CHAPTER X.

The sufferings of the clergy for maintaining ecclesiastical liberty—Persecutions of the Holy See in consequence, and of the Church generally—S. S. Lanfranc, Anselm, Thomas, and his companions—Spirit of these sufferers—Their consolations—Martyrdom of St. Thomas, and its results p. 321

CHAPTER XI.

The combined action of all elements of persecution for justice, in the rise and progress of the heresy of the sixteenth century—At all times heresies united in attacking the Catholic Church—The persecution by the followers of Luther and Calvin—Various causes of the hostility of heresy pointed out—Its destructive action—Its persecution of the intelligence—The calamitous results of its progress—Horrors of the persecution—The spirit of mockery—Its sanguinary form—Its legal form—Heresy introduces discord and disturbs the pacific order of states—The confusion consequent on its propagation—Heresy causes wars, religious, civil, and national wars—Contrasts p. 344

CHAPTER XII.

The sufferings of the monks especially for justice—The religious orders sprung from persecution—The hatred of them evinced by the pagans, Arians, and Iconoclasts, by the profane society of the middle ages, by the violent and unjust, by the Protestants—Destruction of the monasteries—The work pursued in our age—Persecution still assails the Church, as it must continue to do till the end of time—In Heaven the consummation p. 389

CHAPTER XIII.

The epilogue p. 439

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

To conflicts now descending from the hills of peace, towards which many beside have with delight looked back, we cross the last circle; and those who marked my late promise to begin discourse upon the sad contrasts which await us in the life below of recent times, will have cause to wonder at my silence; for I am as one, "who unresolves what he hath late resolved, and with new thoughts changes his purpose, from his first intent removed." Journeying contemplative and mute from the bright serene, where, at the monastery and on the rocks below it at the hermit's seat, we left that joyful chanting in the sky, our hearts so sunk within us, that we felt envy of the eagle that wheeling in his æery tour, soared unobstructed back to visit them. As if bewildered, looking on the crowd that waited us below, we seemed of further gladness to have lost all hope, deeming to have entered on that "road of sighs" once trod by Dante, which was to continue to the end, drawing forth only such regrets as Spenser felt exclaiming,

"Ah! whither dost thou now, thou greater muse
Me from these woods and pleasing forests bring?"

But we judged falsely; and already the odoriferous air wafted over this encircled mound, from the spirits that are therein perfected, suffices to dispel the thoughts

which rose out of discouragement. There will be a time for such reflections; there will be shadows as we advance to suit them, but they would ill become the gleams and balmy breath of this the last morning, when we shall stray together, reader, within the Paradise which faith had made on earth. And now as if with joy restored, conducted full of confidence and hope on this new way, on entering, a song most sweet rings through all the sphere, and though it tells of persecution accordant with the joyful inspirations we have felt before; for I hear chanted, "*Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia*," and the rest which paints the felicity of those burning splendours of the Holy Spirit, whom the Church denominates "*Victorum genus optimum*." I hear too of the mystic desires satisfied, as in the one voice that issues from them all, "*In virtute tua, Domine, lætabitur justus, et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer: desiderium animæ ejus tribuisti ei. Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis: posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso*." Such the sounds that hail us from within a radiant light; and then, as if to tell the aim of these desires, "*Viri sancti gloriosum sanguinem fuderunt pro Domino*," is sung, and "*amaverunt Christum in vita sua, imitati sunt eum in morte sua: et ideo coronas triumphales meruerunt*." O ye elect of God! whose woes such hope and fervour mitigated, direct towards the new rising, our uncertain way. Lo! the sun that darts his beam upon our foreheads. Lo! the unwithering lilies which this circle of itself pours forth profuse. Think, reader, if thou didst miss the sequel of this vision, to know the rest, how sorely thou wouldest crave.

St. Augustin says "this eighth beatitude is probative and consummative of the former; for the first seven perfect men, but the eighth glorifies and demonstrates them perfect, when for the sake of preserving and propagating the others, they willingly suffer death and all kinds of confusion and pain*." "It is said to return to the head," observes Albertus Magnus, "because it proves from the first to the last of them, whether they are true; for when contumely is endured for each of them, then what each man is secretly within himself is

* Serm. xii.

known *.” St. Chrysostom, to show why the beatitude of persecution immediately follows that of peace, says, “lest any one should think it good to seek peace, always and at any price,” therefore it is added, “*beati qui persecutionem patiuntur* ;” but St. Bonaventura argues that it is only a continuation of the preceding circle. “The eighth beatitude, which is the endurance of persecution, is annexed to peace; for,” he continues, “when the pacific has no contradiction from the flesh, the world, or the devil, it follows that he is ready to conquer death and the temptation of death. Therefore the endurance of death for Christ is in the same degree with peace; and it is on this account, we say, that there are eight beatitudes as to essence, but only seven as to distinctions of degree. For above peace there is no virtue, since peace, as St. Augustin says, is the end and consummation of all virtues †.”

Thus serene and bright will be our course unto the end, not embittered even when we shall view the children of perdition, and mark the instrumentality of human crimes, by any base remembrances or sad complaints opposed to the universal smile of charity; since the endurance of persecution for justice, of which, to use the words of Albertus Magnus ‡, the end as of fortitude is delectation, is but a circle of the great illumined glory of which Heaven must be joyous, a tone of that melodious harmony which rises from every act that faith inspires, a ray in the composition of that one whole and perfect beatitude which is our end. Rupertus, therefore, compares the sermon of our Lord to a melodious hymn, sung to the sweet music of a harp, which thought, as others say, occurred to him from observing that harps of old were constructed with eight cords, of which the first and last emitted the same tone, and that similarly of these beatitudes, the end accords with the beginning §. Consequently, of this history illustrating its action, the tone must correspond with that spirit of joy and gratitude belonging essentially to the religion which

* Albert. Mag. Compend. Theologicæ Veritatis, lib. v. c. 55

† Compend. Theologicæ Veritatis, lib. v. c. 55.

‡ Lib. Ethicorum, lib. 11. xi.

§ Pierre Doré, les Voyes de Paradis.

inspired it. St. Augustin commenting on the Psalm which has relation to this eighth way of Paradise, observes that "in that captivity, in that servitude, in that chariot, under that yoke, there are thousands, not of the sorrowful who weep, but of the glad who rejoice*." And indeed if we mark it well, the holy liturgy of Catholics can teach us with what joy we should pursue our task; for do you not observe how the offices of the Church for martyrs and confessors breathe exultation and gladness? "*Lætificas,—gaudeamus,—lætabitur—exultabit vehementer inclyta gaudia—alleluja,*"—such are the words and sounds they leave, echoing as it were over us. These martyrs are commemorated as having been like sister Lucy, anointed with the oil of gladness above their fellows; they are introduced with joy and exultation. Of them as in allusion to Marius, Martha, Audiface, and Abachum, the Church exclaims, "*Justi epulentur, et exultent in conspectu Dei, et delectentur in lætitia.*" There are no regrets or sad expressions of discouragement:

"Non murmur resonat, non querimonia:"

but as in the matin hymn:

"*Æterna Christi munera
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes canentes debitas,
Lætis canamus mentibus.*"

Moreover, this course will leave no memories to chill that generous affection for the race of men, beginning perhaps with a love for individuals, and thence passing from a few to all, which would suffer from an admiration directed to objects naturally undeserving of love, or too narrowly concentrated. For among those whom the Catholic religion regards as the blessed persecuted, will be found none of those unamiable and revolting figures which pass before us in history and in life, who would rather suffer from men than not hate them; no grim, ill-tempered, and gloomy self-styled martyrs, who paint the face of infinite benevolence with a frown, ever

* In Ps. lxvii.

complaining of imagined wrongs, with tears and spasms at command, and tragic airs of outraged dignity, to torture others with the eternal profession of their own ill-requited merit, as if patterns of meek endurance and patient resignation, while every hour indulging in the flights of uncontrolled perversity: the men we shall consort with here, were such as seemed to every eye created with full capacity for all the gladness that could glow in human breasts, who beheld in the great book of nature all things not in black and sombre hues, but in bright and glowing tints; who heard its music not in sighs and groans, but in songs and cheerful sounds; and in whom every return of day awakened the sense of hope, and gratitude, and joy. We shall find too, that those whose acts are commemorated within this circle, as those whom the world had with bloody stain imbrued, are sufficiently numerous to occupy all our sympathy; we shall find within this space of ample radiance, millions of creatures now for ever blessed, with whom the youthful heart would have loved to sympathize—perhaps indeed, all who from our earth have to the skies returned, so wide the leaves extending from this rose which blooms with beauty from the prime enlightener; for here shine those who were prized as the amiable, the brave, the generous, the young, the fair, the tender, the natural,—in fine, the best and loveliest of the human race. And after all, without subscribing to the theory of one philosopher, that only those to whom these titles in strict material sense belong are amiable, who has not observed from experience of others and from what he reads within his own heart, that the class which merits love is the class that labours, and that too often under stern and unjust masters—the class that in its simplicity suffers without murmuring—the class inured to sweat, and hardship, and privations, and sacrifice, that has no time to speculate as to who are amiable; the class still as it were under the rod; the class that obeys in all common relations, overlooked by the proud, or trampled on by brute force, which is content with a moment of ease, and as it were the recreation of a boy: in a word, the class that the world persecutes, and that enjoys in spite of it the pleasures which are denied to its oppressors? It is with such as these, however exalted, still little and self-humiliated, that we shall consort: for the spirit of Christ's

beatitudes is to embrace the generality who seem born to serve as He came to serve, while that of the world is to prize the few who aspire to be masters, and exempt from what belongs to others; and in thus extending our sympathies to the common class, we shall enjoy all the sweets of fellowship which nature can desire; for nature speaks in favour, not of those who are masters, but of those who serve. If we were to be removed from sympathy with these by the tenour of our history, we might have reason to complain and doubt; but it will not put our souls miserably out of tune to hear that, excepting for animadversion, our way will lead us far from these unjust masters, from these pampered rich men, from these cruel oppressors, from this world which persecutes, including among the tyrants whom knowledge obliges us to consider as the enemies of Christ, of his Church, and of his members, those from whom every eye would naturally turn in disgust, the proud and merciless, the artful and cowardly, the hideous, the unnatural, who deliver up the just, with Judas, through avarice, or with the chief priests through envy, or with Pilate through fear. Such figures, indeed, must remain excluded, bearing their true titles, as when Mezentius is never named by the great Mantuan without the epithet "*contemptorque Deûm*:" but ought they not to be excluded? "If there was not a root of iniquity in the heart," says St. Augustin, "there would not be all this opposition against Christ *." And have we ever considered what must be that iniquity? The aspect of Martyrs appeased the ferocity of tigers and leopards, which used to show compassion and sympathy for the saints of God; not alone animated beings, but fire and the other elements respected them; only men could consummate the sacrifice. To witness such contrasts then, and such iniquity consigned to an exclusion, will wound no generous heart: they belong in fact to every view of human life, whether we only consort with those who deserve love on earth, or rise to the contemplation of the saints and troops angelical.

Distinct from the supernatural brightness of this way, a certain reflected light illuminates it as if from objects

* In Ps. lxiv.

of human and earthly splendour. For if the Greek poet could discern that even calamity well endured was happiness :

— λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ' εἰ τύχοι
κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξελθόντα, πάντ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν *.

and if the orator could define the summit of prosperity as the state of him who obtains the most honourable fate, or the most noble subject of grief†, what must be the glory consequent on the trials of the martyrs, and of those who suffered persecution for sake of justice? What spirit yet encompassed with weeds of flesh, can without trembling speak of deeds so worthy? Yet with eyes bent downward, attentive only to the human side, desire to know the actions subjected to mortal sense may draw us onward. If the inherent reverence of heroes which exists in the human mind, be indeed a fact so inexpressibly precious, as a late eloquent observer says; if there be an everlasting hope in it for the world, here and here alone we have the certainty of their having been heroes within the sphere of the intelligence given to the world; here alone we have foundations for hope, that they may again appear in it, for here in that comprehensive sense were the only true heroes, and only in resembling them can the race return: it is in vain to look for any other.

This course, therefore, brings us back to the paths of that ideal chivalry in which so many youthful feet have loved to wander,—to those broad domains of heroic honour, which so essentially belong to the true life of faith; for, as St. Augustin says, “*Arcta omnis malitia, sola innocentia lata est* ‡.” We are about to hear, as he says elsewhere, of things great and beautiful, desirable, and full of joy and gladness. Honour, true-honour becomes thus all the subject of our closing history; as if to comply with this advice of Schiller, “Tell him, that when he is a man, he must reverence the dreams of his youth.” It brings us back to the old “seigneurial books,” that were most loved in youth, to the high noble themes that fascinated the smiling age of man’s life,

* *Œd. Tyr.* 87.

† *Thucyd.* ii. 44.

‡ *In Ps. c.*

when as a boy he did so burn to devote his strength to truth and justice. But all the mighty standard yet had wrought, of which we have seen proofs, throughout the mortal kingdoms which it swayed, falls in appearance, dwindled and obscured, if one with steady eye and perfect thought look on the splendour of the eighth beatitude. This will lead us therefore gloriously to a bright triumphant end; for if we must speak now of dangers, of combating and of killing, our theme will also be of glory and of victory. The sum will be to show how

“ ————— Pride has
Met with severe reward; and that high justice
That governs all, though envy break with her
Own poison, calls the amazed world to see
What blessings wait upon humility.”

We shall hear, indeed, of sorrow; for the crafty race of persecutors will find here proof of that order of Divine Providence which decrees that in spite of them and by them should be accomplished the denunciations of Jesus Christ, “*væ mundo!*”—woe to the world! But a spirit of infinite consolation moves over the waters of this deluge of suffering and death. We shall find changed, perhaps, some face which we have before seen innocently gay; as the poet says,

“ We have seen it, when it was less sad; but 'tis
The richer jewel set in black.”

and we may repeat his words, addressing each of these bright figures as they pass:

“ You ne'er wore garments did so well become you.
Your voice has better music too, it sounds
As some religious melancholy struck
Upon your heart; you've prayed lately, I distinguish
A tear upon your cheek still; 'tis well.”

So carefully have I refrained in the preceding books from introducing matter foreign from the special limits to which each related, that some who have followed me through them will be surprised, perhaps, to hear that there can be found in the historical monuments of the middle ages ample illustrations to explain the state of those who suffer persecution on account of justice. It

is true the ages of faith, during that middle period, enjoyed most singular exemptions. The phenomenon which Socrates thought would be so passing strange if it could be realised—that true philosophers instead of being persecuted and despised should be honoured and exalted by states *, was then witnessed. As for men who wonder why philosophers are not honoured in the state, prove to them, said the sage, ὅτι πολὺ ἂν θαυμαστότερον ἦν εἰ ἐτιμῶντο. They were then honoured. Just men were not obliged like Solon to feign themselves insane in order to offer their advice without restraint and punishment. When they undertook to point out the danger of future judgment, they were not always as Socrates thought they would become, necessarily objects of contempt and hatred †. Even in the worst moments, while some kings were setting themselves and some rulers taking counsel together against the Lord, and against his Christ, saying, “Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us,” the multitudes were believing and adoring, and whole nations collectively co-operating with Christ. The strange and supernatural institution of chivalry seemed to have been designed, like the ancient gilds of the tenth century, to diminish the number of those who were to be blessed by enduring persecutions; for its object was to abolish persecution for justice. As by the statutes of the gilds the whole brotherhood was bound to defend the juster cause whenever any member was attacked ‡; so, by this later confederation, the whole city of God was to be protected. The church, in its character of the oppressed, was to have a defender, as well as each member of the mystical body. The church, as a French religious man observes, “was the mother, the spouse, the sister of every knight, of every one who could wield a sword.” Kings derived their highest title from their zeal to defend her. Charles, king of Apulia, lies hurried at Naples, since the year 1285, with these verses on his tomb—

“Ecclesiæ clypeus jacet hic, Fideique trophæus :
Sed fuit ipse reus. Propitiare Deus §.”

* De Repub. vi.

† Plato, Theætetus.

‡ Hiccesii Thesaur. Linguar. Septent. ii. Thierry, Consid. sur l'Histoire de France. § Chronic. Parmense ap. Muratori, ix.

The holy martyr of Canterbury made many appeals to this principle of his age. Writing to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, to thank him for his courage and charity in his necessities, St. Thomas says, "Thus it became a man of generous blood, having kings for his ancestors, to adorn the nobility of his family by deeds of virtue and religion *," and in a letter to Roger, Bishop of Worcester, he says, "It became your nobility to honour your ministry by standing bravely unto blood, as we were confident that you would do if it were only through regard to the generosity of your race †." Thus wrote the martyr to that illustrious son of the Earl of Gloucester, who shines so bright a star in the history of his woes. A column of justice was he, and, in regard to constancy, an impenetrable adamant, young in years and old in virtue, never forsaking him in his adversity, but keeping fidelity unto his own loss, and proscription, and peril, thinking, as he said, "that it would be disgraceful to enjoy luxuries at home with women, while his commander was in the camp ‡." "Your father, Earl Robert," says St. Thomas, writing to him, "loved you above all his sons. Consider how prudent, how faithful, how magnanimous, how constant he was, who resisted, and even conquered, a flourishing, warlike, gracious, and opulent king, Duke of Normandy and Count of Bologne, who afterwards so despised all peril that he preferred imprisonment rather than consent to injustice. The contemplation of that beloved man should animate you; and he who bequeathed to you the title of generous blood, should be imitated in your manners §." Besides, it is certain from history, that the voice of the ancient world, bearing testimony to its experience, would no longer represent the consequences of virtue among men; for these ages frequently beheld the work of justice conducted without violence and without resentment. The great and marvellous reform, effected by St. Dunstan, of the clergy and laity, seems to have exposed him to no persecution, but, on the contrary, to have conduced only to his greater earthly as well as eternal glory. Even under the sway of Fredegonde, and the sons of Clotaire, St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, though he bad

* St. Thom. Epist. clxxxviii.

† Heribert, Hist. quadr. i. 16.

‡ Ib. Epist. cxc.

§ Ep. cclxxiii.

much internal pain to suffer, while he spared neither exhortations nor reproofs, suffered no violence; for God gave him such authority among the barbarous chiefs, that he had no external persecutions to endure. White crowns, indeed, were multiplied, for the merits of justice in these times of spiritual peace, as when Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were honoured for the merits of faith without having been slain for justice, and presented with the purple crowns of passion; but those who are sent to study the history of the middle ages in relation to this beatitude, cannot, on the whole, but experience astonishment at the happy change which had been effected in regard to the reception given to justice generally, which, at the first glance at least, might justify them in bearing a testimony like that of the angelic voices in the vision of the prophet. "*Perambulavimus terram, et omnis terra habitatur, et quiescit* *."

Nevertheless, such impressions would lead to great error, if they were not subsequently submitted to correction. The middle ages enjoyed exemptions from evils which existed during earlier and later times of faith; but they were far from being without experience of those which God can turn to the benefit of his elect. As the words of Christ, that many choose the broad way and the wide gate, are always verified, it follows that in ages of greatest faith, as in Catholic countries still, there must be a multitude of persons who either reject or pervert religion, from whom, consequently, the faithful must expect to suffer persecution; for so the generations of the just are saved.

"Never," as St. Leo says, "is there wanting the tribulation of persecution, if there be not wanting the observance of piety. As the whole body of the Church must live piously, so the whole body must bear the cross, each member according to its needs and capacity."

"In some one part or other," says St. Augustin, "the whole Church suffers persecution. If it does not suffer from the fury of the emperor, it suffers from that of an evil people. What devastations by the people! What evils inflicted on the Church by wicked Christians, by those who are caught in that net †!" "The whole

* Zacharia, c. i.

† In Ps. xxx.

earth is red with the blood of martyrs; heaven is brightened with the crowns of martyrs; the churches are adorned with the memorials of martyrs; the seasons are rendered holy by the nativities of the martyrs; the sick are cured by the merits of the martyrs*." "I say that there are persecutions every where," says Hugo of St. Victor, "because daily in the secret places of the holy Church, Cain persecutes Abel, Ismael Isaac, Esau Jacob, that is, the impious the just: and if one does not suffer persecution from strangers, one suffers it from false brethren †."

"When you enter a cathedral of the middle ages, and contemplate in the evening that army of saints and doctors, in a sweet act, so sculptured to the life, they look not silent images, kneeling, praying, or exhorting in their niches of stone—with such countenances of calm repose—as if motionless for eternity, you are led to suppose that these were ages of peace without struggles and without disorder. Such an impression," continues Michelet, "would however mislead. True, the intellectual life of man—the conscience in an infinite number of men was calm as summer midnight; but the exterior was strangely and in sadly wise disturbed. Nay, the middle ages were precisely the ages of struggle—alas! in our time," he adds, "men contend no more as they did then—for then there was the vehement struggle between the religious spirit and the spirit of the world—the human nature fallen—that was their dignity, that their glory. Yes, these saints of stone represent men who were troubled, who had struggles almost unceasing from without, and from within too; for men were the same as now, and if you interrogate them they will tell you as much ‡."

In our time, men contend no more thus. Reader, did you mark that? It is even so. In languid times, as a late writer justly observes, with their unbelief and perplexity, with their weak doubting characters and embarrassed circumstances, promoting a kind of general spiritual paralysis, amidst an effete sceptical world, wherein wonder, greatness, sincerity, and faith, are rarely found,

* In Ps. cxviii.

† Id. Sermo xlviii.

‡ Michelet.

where truth for most men means plausibility, to be measured by the number of votes that can be procured, where men live not by believing, but by doubting, debating, and arguing,—the struggles of an age of faith, of sincere and earnest men are impossible or unnecessary. To produce martyrs and confessors, there must be faith. If a man has to ask at every turn the world's suffrage; if he cannot dispense with it and make his own suffrage serve, how can he be expected to struggle as the saints did, or to be resigned to share in their sufferings? In the ages of faith there was no necessity for polling, and voting, and "setting up ballot-boxes in every street." There are no more struggles now, because minds are enervated. The nerves of men's arms are not cut as in the legend of the sons of Clovis in Jumiéges, but their moral energy is destroyed; their intelligence is exhausted, so that they will not give themselves the trouble to think, for fear of incurring the responsibility of a conviction. No more sufferings for justice now, because it is generally understood that men are compelled to act as they do by irresistible impulse, or by circumstance, or if they do not accuse Satan, by their fate, which no one they affirm can withstand; and, indeed, as St. Augustin says, if Satan spoke and God were silent, or if Satan or fate had the power of compelling, they might be excused. So they deem it a folly to come forward and maintain a just cause if they will have to suffer for it. This is what St. Augustin termed, wishing to precede Christ, and to teach Him. In ages of faith men believed in Him and followed Him. Yet, from the first there were traces of the modern spirit; for Peter, as St. Augustin says, wished to precede Christ; for when the Saviour spoke of his passion, Peter, who a little before confessed Him, and was therefore called a rock on which the church was built, replied, "Absit, Domine, non fiet istud;" and observe here, says the holy Doctor, how before it was "Beatus es, Simon,"—and now, "Redi post me, Satanas." Therefore we who wish to celebrate rightly the nativities of the martyrs, should desire to imitate them. Let us not precede them, and wish to seem to be wiser than they are by avoiding sufferings for justice and for faith, which they did not avoid. Let those who have such thoughts, and who nourish their hearts in luxury, be

turned back and put to shame*. "This silent army," says Michelet, "represents men who struggled and combated." He may well say so; and it is impossible to recall their memories without having the mind's eye arrested, as it were, by the solemn banners and trophies of their long and glorious warfare. They seem to come forward at first one by one, so as to be separately distinguished, and then collectively in a crowd that no one can number, as in the sublime procession proposed by the Church in her Litany of the saints, when invoking John the Baptist, and St. Joseph, and all the patriarchs and prophets—St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. John, and all the holy apostles and evangelists; St. Stephen, St. Laurence, St. Vincent, and all the holy martyrs; St. Sylvester, St. Gregory, St. Augustin, and all holy pontiffs and confessors; St. Anthony, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and all holy monks and hermits; St. Agnes, St. Cæcilia, St. Agatha, St. Anastasia, and all holy virgins and widows, with all the holy saints of God: and their voice seems to be with one accord, from contradiction and persecution, from martyrdom and exile came we to this peace."

The world forgets, if it ever knew, the silent sufferings, the silent struggles and sorrows of the men of faith and their long persecutions. All through the ages involved in this history the world pursued the Church collectively, as well as its members one by one. Still was it, as we shall have occasion to show, the Church militant, often the Church persecuted, the Church oppressed. "*Vita Christiani est benefacere et male pati*†." Such was the maxim then on every tongue.

Considering the number even of kings and queens who were then prepared to suffer for justice, a pious writer exclaims, "O, how seldom are such examples to be witnessed in these days that are styled enlightened! How seldom is the resolution of a king, or queen, or even of any of the higher nobility, so exemplary as to be worthy of being held out to the people as an inducement to walk in their footsteps in order to save their souls! O, truly, in these times is the world made desolate because there is no one that thinketh in

* In Ps. lxi.

† Bona de Discret. Spirit. 13.

the heart. May what are called the dark ages return again, that there may be another harvest of souls for heaven *1”

Ages of faith, as we have often been obliged to observe, were earnest times: good and evil far more than charters were truths and realities for them. Men were heartily in earnest. They possessed the sincerity of children with the depth of wisdom. They met injustice “with a great-hearted simplicity in an unfearing way.” Theirs was “not the sincerity that calls itself sincere which is often mainly self-conceit, but that of which they did not speak, and were not themselves conscious †.”

Let us endeavour to form a just estimate of the force and character of this resolution of men in ages of faith to suffer persecution on account of justice. In the preceding books we have seen their humility, their meekness, their aptitude to mourn, their purity, their thirst for justice, their compassion, their love of holy peace—it remains for us to observe the complement of all these graces, that firmness and constancy which so eminently characterised their actions; that intimate energy arising from faith; that calm sustained enthusiasm; the religious devotion to what is immortal, and that silent modesty in presence of injustice, which seem rather to be ignorant than disdainful of its existence. As the Church sings in her office of many martyrs, “*Sancti qui sperant in Domino, habebunt fortitudinem, assumunt pennas ut aquilæ, volabant et non deficient.*” Would you observe this verified? then hear the words of Tertullian to the martyrs: “Let us change the name of prison, and call it a retreat. Although the body be enclosed, although the flesh be detained, all places are open to spirit. Wander, then, in spirit: perambulate in spirit; not proposing to yourself shaded woods or long porticoes, but that way which leads to God. As often as you walk thus in spirit, you will escape from your prison. The limb feels nothing in the nerve when the mind is in heaven. The mind carries with it the whole man, and removes it to wherever it wishes ‡.” The same spirit breathes in the high mysticism of the middle ages. “Nothing is contrary to me but myself,” says

* Peach.

† Carlyle.

‡ Ad Martyr.

Hugo of St. Victor*. What can be more brave than such a heart? Ages of faith, indeed, of necessity were ages of valour. It was indispensable to be brave. The men who are to pass before us in this book had subdued fear, so far as being perfectly resolved; and, to use the words of a late writer, Agamemnon's was of small audacity and of small fruit in the world compared to theirs. "Felix quem non gladius terret," sing the Franciscan friars in their office of St. Anthony of Padua, alluding to his glorious constancy. Vico wrote a treatise on the heroism of intelligence—"De mente heroica," as evinced by the undaunted preachers of the middle ages. It is to the developement of this spirit which fitted men of every state for the best of all victories, that we should now direct our attention. And certes for whoever wishes to study the history of religious and philosophic doctrines in the middle ages, there will be found here curious and profitable information respecting the direction and the state of minds, an object of which we have endeavoured never to lose sight in any book of the present history.

"Duo sunt," says Peter of Blois, "*justitia et libertas, pro quibus quisque fidelis usque ad sanguinem stare debet* †." Such was the maxim of men in the ages of faith, than whom no generations ever observed more strictly the poet's counsel:

—— "vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."

"Love and fortitude," such are two of the qualities necessary to the young man according to Dante ‡, which prepared him for the martyr's grace. The very standard itself of knightly honour supposed a readiness to suffer persecution on account of justice, for without such suffering how could men pass through life without reproach? "Not without sin I confess," as the old Baron would add, "distinguishing, (for we all sin, and continually ask God to efface our sins,) but without reproach," "*sans reproche*."

* De Claustro Animæ, lib. v. 12.

† De Institut. Episcop.

‡ Convito, c. 26.

Albert de Ripalta, speaking of his father, Antonio, who began the annals of Placentia, which he completed, says that he had often declared "his wish to write nothing but what might conduce to the honour of Almighty God, and the utility of his neighbour, especially what might excite the minds of young men to live virtuously, and endure all perils for the love of virtue *." This will and capacity to endure formed the great criterion in estimating the respective merits of different men. "They who wish to suffer many things for Christ," says Cardan, "shine in all kinds of virtue, and therefore are the best for constituting and maintaining a republic †."

So Pope Martin IV. creating the archbishop of Arles a cardinal, says "that according to ancient example, he must collect from all nations, to assist him in governing the flock committed to him, men potent in deed and in word, to instruct the people by their example, and to inform them by their doctrine; men who so fear God, that they never fear the face of man; so hate avarice, that they go not after gold, and hope not in the multiplicity of riches, but follow truth, that is, Christ, who is the way, and the truth, and the life, declining neither to the right hand nor to the left ‡." God is wonderful in his saints, exclaims the holy Church. "Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem," she continues, "et fortitudinem plebi suæ, benedictus Deus."

We shall see what fearless magnanimity belonged to meek, humble, and deep feeling men, who could know more misery and reap more joy than all; to each of whom might be addressed the words of Achilles to Priam, when the latter dared to enter his tent,

— — σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ §.

"Nemo sapiens, nisi fortis," said the Roman philosopher ||, "no one wise who is not brave;" yet, if we will hear Balthasar Gracian, sages have been always bad sufferers; for impatience increases, he says, "along

* Annales Placentini ap. Murat. Rer. It. tom. xx.

† De Utilitate ex Advers. Cap. lib. iii. 10.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1283.

§ xxiv. 521.

|| Lact. iii.

with science, and it is hard to content a great knowledge *,” but the Catholic religion recognised not such men as sages. She proclaimed the necessity of valour in enduring, and she declared that fortitude, as Albertus Magnus observes, “magis est sustinendo quam audendo †,” so that her voice seemed to re-echo the maxim of the Greeks,

Παθήματα, μαθήματα,

or that still deeper wisdom,

Οὗτος κράτιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ
 "Ὅστις ἀλκιῦσθαι πλείστ' ἐπίσταται βροτῶν ‡.

Persecution for justice according to her voice was doctrine. Whoever wept and bled for Jesus Christ, had the learning which best proved the sage.

“The world in vain decries the Christian life, as a life of subjection and servitude. The reign of justice,” continues Massillon, “is a reign of liberty. The soul faithful and subject to God becomes mistress of all creatures; the just man is above every thing, because he is detached from every thing: he is master of the world, because he despises the world; he depends neither on his masters, because he serves them only for God’s sake; nor on his friends, because he loves them only in the order of charity; neither on his inferiors, because he requires from them no unjust compliance, nor on his fortune, because he fears it; nor on the judgments of men, because he fears only those of God; nor on events, because he regards them in the order of Providence; nor on his passions, because charity is their rule. The just man alone then enjoys perfect freedom; superior to the world, to himself, to all creatures, to all events, he begins in this life to reign with Jesus Christ. All things are subject to him, and he is subject to God alone.”

“Justum et tenacem propositi virum
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus instantis tyranni
 Mente quatit solida §.”

* Courtier, 159.

‡ Menander.

† Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. 2.

§ Hor. Od. iii. 3.

Such was the Catholic mind in ages of faith: no one possessed it, "who feared death, or exile, or poverty, who preferred," as Cicero says *, "their contraries to equity," or who pronounced the word necessity with a view to its ordinary meaning. When told that nature was become necessity, they who cherished it exclaimed with St. Bernard, "O quam necesse esset hanc necessitatem evelli†!" When urged to regard it for their own interest, they again replied with him, "necessitas multorum est virtus paucorum †." So in the third nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua, the friars sing,

"Pereunt pericula, cessat et necessitas."

Religion addressed men in words, like those of the Greek poet, when Agamemnon is represented fearing the people, and Hecuba says to him,

*ἔπει δὲ ταρβείς, τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ πλείον νέμεις,
ἐγὼ σε θήσω τοῦδ' ἐλεύθερον φόβου.*

Gundobadus, king of the Burgundians, having been converted from the Arian heresy by St. Avitus, was one of those who feared the multitude; and the holy bishop sought thus to deliver him, reminding him that it was not sufficient to be a Catholic in secret, and that persecution for justice was the lot to be expected by all Christians. "You being a king," he said to him, "and having no reason to fear any penalty, are afraid to confess the Creator of all publicly, lest there should be a sedition of the people. Relinque hanc stultitiam, et quod corde te dicis credere, ore profer in plebe; for the apostle says, With the heart we believe to justice, but with the mouth is confession to salvation; and so the prophet also says, Confitebor tibi, Domine, in ecclesia magna. In populo gravi laudabo te; and again, Confitebor tibi in populis, Domine; psalmum dicam nomini tuo inter gentes. But, O king, fearing the people, you are ignorant that it is better the people should follow your faith, than that you should favour their infirmity; for you are the head of the people, and therefore if you proceed to war, you precede the host, and they

* De Off. ii. 11.

† Ep. cccclxxiii.

‡ Id. cxiii.

follow whither you lead. Wherefore it is better that by your going first, they should come to the truth, than that by your perishing, they should remain in error. For God is not mocked, and he doth not love him, who on account of an earthly kingdom, does not confess Him in the present life." St. Gregory of Tours relates however, that the king could never be prevailed upon to confess the equality of the Trinity in public, but persisted in his pusillanimity to the end of his life *.

This was nothing but the old weakness before the formation of the new creature. The wisest of the Greeks was obliged to give his friend a clue to distinguish his real opinion from that which he professed, through compliance with the popular superstition, telling him that his letters which expressed the former, would begin with the word *Θεός*, and the latter with *θεοί* †. Here then was a great contrast to the Catholic spirit of the ages of faith, which enabled men to live superior to all fear of the judgments of the crowd, which now under the title of society again exercise so fatal an influence on those who resolve to be at peace with the enemies of Christ, who appear following our Lord at a distance from afar faintly, as old writers say, only to add to his ignominy by denying Him. In the middle ages, the state of manners did not resemble that which Seneca describes. "*Pendemus toti ex alienis judiciis; et id optimum nobis videtur quod petitores laudatoresque multos habet, non id quod laudandum petendumque est. Nec viam bonam ac malam per se æstimamus, sed turba vestigiorum, in quibus nulla sunt redeuntium* ‡." Very far otherwise.

As Polyeucte says to Felix in that noble tragedy of Corneille, "The man of faith feared nothing, dissembled nothing, and in the eyes of all the world, was always the same." I am a Christian, would be his reply, after the examples of the martyrs of the first age of the Church. I am a Christian,

— "hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
Tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
Mens immota manet; lacrymæ volvuntur inanes §."

* Lib. ii. Hist. Francorum.

‡ De Otio Sapient.

† Plat. Epist. xiii.

§ Æn. iv. 438.

Yet to antiquity we must ascribe the honour which is its due. Homer's old men, though pacific, are determined enemies of injustice; and in this respect again, Catholic manners possessed the charm of Homeric energy. "Shall wickedness be strong in punishment, and we not be as valiant in our suffering?" Such was the answer to each tyrant. But how can we describe the high disdain of yielding to dishonour, which characterized these ages of faith? When the terrible king Chilperic, persecuting Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, demanded why he dared to ask some great nobles to befriend his son, the Prince Merowig, whom the bishop loved with a mother's love, from having held him on the font, that holy man, though far from firm, replied, "I acknowledge it, I entreated them to stand his friends, and I would have called to his aid not only men, but the angels of heaven, if I had power over them; for he was, as I said before, my spiritual son by baptism *."

St. Thomas of Canterbury being exiled, St. Gilbert, founder of the Gilbertins, and the other superiors of his order, were accused of having sent him assistance. The charge was false; but the holy abbot chose rather to be sent to prison, and to incur the risk of seeing his order suppressed, than to justify himself, lest he should seem to condemn an action which would have been meritorious.

Truly the chivalrous spirit belonged to those who suffered persecution for justice during these heroic ages. "It has been a question this year," writes John of Salisbury to Hunfrid Boni, "of making my peace with the king, that I might return to England. They solicited me to give security that I would not in any thing assist the archbishop, and on those terms I should return into favour with the king. But though I am not bound to the archbishop by homage, or oath, or obligation of faith, and though I owe him no obedience, unless that which is due to every bishop, nevertheless as I believed it would be a base act to deny him, and renounce obedience to him, I could not accept the condition †."

* S. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib.-v.

† Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxv.

"Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

"Even the heathen gave this sentence, therefore I earnestly entreat that such forms may not be provided for me. If it be a question respecting the past, I do not deny that I have always obsequiously and devotedly served the archbishop as my lord and my father; and I wish it might have been efficaciously; nor will I ever, with God's help, for any utility or through fear of any loss, by abjuring and denying Him, stain my life, yea and the memory of my name and race, before God and man*." Thus as far as spurning the specious world's control, and cherishing this unconquerable devotion of the mind to truth, men never bid adieu to boyhood. They carried on the freshness and feelings of youth into the powers of maturer age. Each could bear to himself the testimony of the poet,

"I am prepared, in truth, with no proud joy,
To do, or suffer aught, as when a boy
I did devote to justice, and to love,
My nature, worthless now."

"He would talk to his wife and children," says Roper of Sir Thomas More, "of the lives of holy martyrs, of their grievous pains endured for the love of God, and of their passion and death undergone, rather than offend Him; and he would add, what a happy and blessed thing it was to suffer privation of goods, imprisonment, loss of lands, and even of life itself, in the cause of Heaven!" After being long imprisoned in the Tower, he wrote to them saying, "I find no cause, I thank God, to reckon myself in worse case here, than at home; for methinks God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lap and dandleth me." "O glorious God," he prayed, "take from me all sinful sorrow and pensiveness." In fact, cheerfulness and composure, even mirth sometimes, resting on earnestness and sadness, "as the rainbow on black tempest," distinguished men of this beatitude in all ages. Celebrated are the instances of

* Id. xxxii.

Sir Thomas More disencumbering himself of the courtier, who recommended him to change his mind, by replying that he had done so, meaning only that he had resolved not to change his apparel that morning, and his saying at the foot of the scaffold, "I pray you, sir, see me safe up; as for my coming down, I may shift for myself,"—words which may recall those of the great confessor of our times, Droste de Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, who on being carried off violently from his palace, only asked the officer who secured him, whether the candles in the carriage-lamps were long enough to last them through the night.

The courage and calm resolution of the martyrs sometimes extorted the admiration of even the most cruel persecutors; as when the emperor Decius, having read the examination of St. Acacius, gave him his liberty and suffered him to profess the Christian religion.

"The philosophers," says Philemon, "as I have heard, consume much time in seeking what is the supreme good, and no one has yet discovered what it is."

Νῦν εὖρον· εἰρήνην ὁρίν *.

If this were the solution of the difficulty in ages of faith, there were distinctions added to reconcile it with the felicity of enduring persecution; for, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "there are two kinds of peace; one which Christ gives, the other which the world gives. The peace of the world is, that you recede from God, and consent to the devil; but the peace of Christ is, that you expel the devil, and love God: the peace of the world is, that the world may please you, and you the world, that thus satiated with earthly pleasures, you may succumb for ever; the peace of Christ is, that you may patiently bear the adverse things of the world unto death, in order that after death you may obtain the felicity of the future life†." This latter was enjoyed by all the just, amidst their persecutions. Within their heart was their sabbath, "while many," as St. Augustine says, "were at rest in their limbs, and in a tumult

* Ap. Stobæum, Flor. tit. lv.

† De Claustro Animæ, iv. 21.

in their conscience*.” As the lights of heaven direct their course with all patience, and care not what men might say of them, so these cared not what flesh could do†. “There is a peace,” observes Peter of Blois, “of which men say, Peace, peace; and there is no peace; for in such peace there is the most bitter bitterness, when the handmaiden reposes, and the mistress is in bondage‡.” There being always men whose study and labour it is to resist their superiors. “It is manifest,” as he says elsewhere, “that persons in authority, who must necessarily offend many, cannot please all, nor can they nor should they satisfy the will of all§.” It throws much light upon the history of these ages, to bear in mind that the casuists who exercised such an influence upon manners, had ranked what the school terms *acedia* among deadly sins, as opposed to divine hope. Many who now pass for very liberal, would in the middle ages have been ranked with the *libellatici*, who by causing themselves to be enregistered along with those who sacrificed to the gods, were considered as tacitly denying the faith. The love of ease, which prompts men to yield always, step by step, till at last they speak like the minister of Geneva, who now says that “the divinity of Christ, as understood by Catholics, hinders a great number of individuals from embracing Christianity,” was expelled by the spirit of beatitude. That spirit made men even shrink from the thought of being honoured in a world where God is dishonoured, and of obtaining, even by honourable means, what is refused to him. “*Quo modo*,” exclaims St. Bonaventura, “*non abhorrebo mihi attribui, quod est Dei? Quis ergo renuet se odire, et ab omnibus conculcari ||?*” “Would to God,” cries St. Jerome, “that all infidels might rise up at once against me! I wish that the whole world would unite to blame my conduct, in order that I might obtain by that the approbation of Jesus Christ. You deceive yourself if you think that a Christian can live without persecution. The greatest that one can suffer is not to have any.”

“Do not imitate those,” says the great St. Anthony,

* In Ps. lxii.

† In Ps. xciii.

‡ Epist. cxxxviii.

§ Id. clxv.

|| S. Bonavent. Stimul. Amoris, pars ii. ap. 6.

"who apply themselves to have rest in this world, for they never make a progress; but emulate those who wander in mountains and solitudes for God, in order that virtue from on high may come on you *." The children of this beatitude, therefore, in a particular manner, might be distinguished among the blessed poor in spirit:

"Che per niente avete
Terra, oro e argento:"

as Brunetto Latini in his *Tesoretto* says; for their hearts were detached from all earthly possessions, in order to follow Christ with more alacrity, as it is the naked swimmer who passes the river with greatest ease; so that St. Francis among his reasons for requiring poverty in his order, specifies their obligation to preach without fear. "They knew," as St. Augustin says, "that a man cannot always remain here, cannot always have his gold and silver, cannot always rejoice even in this light. They had learned to rejoice in that light which has no setting, which had no yesterday nor to-morrow, and thus no persecutor could ever deprive them of the treasure on which they had set their hearts. They felt themselves to be strangers upon earth, so that they used their riches as a traveller in a stable uses what he finds, knowing that it is not his own, unless for the time he stops there †." There was in them what an old French writer styles "courage invincible, contentement certain, assurance parfaite, desprisement incroyable de tout ce pourquoy les humains tant veignent, courent, travaillent, navigent et battailent." Thus Georges d'Amboise, the cherished minister of Louis XII., of whom the king used to say, "let George do whatever pleaseth him," never had but one benefice at a time, and of that he only retained a third part for himself, the rest being for the churches and the poor. Thus, to cite another instance in the words of an ancient writer, "was the virtuous and ghostly mind of Sir Thomas More rid from all corrupt love of worldly things, and fast knit only in the love of God and desire of heaven, as becometh a very true worshipper, and a faithful servant of God." "Tell me,"

* S. Antonii Sermo.

† In Ps. xciii.

said he to his wife, who advised him to avoid persecution, "how long you think one might live to enjoy this right-fair house of ours? Perhaps some twenty years. Well now, if you had said some thousand, nay some hundred years even, it had been somewhat; and yet he were a very bad calculator that would risk the losing of an eternity for some hundred or thousand years. But what, if we are not sure of enjoying our possessions a single day? I hear he said again that my Lord Audley reckoneth me among the fools, but surely among those that long to be rulers, God and my conscience know, that no man can reckon me. But whomsoever my Lord mean by the fools and the wise, I beseech our Lord to make us all so wise, that we may, every man, rule ourselves wisely in this time of tears, this vale of miseries, this simple wretched world, that when we shall hence in haste, we be not taken as sleepers, nor be shut out of heaven among the foolish virgins." "To his children and grand-children," he said, "I have been brought up at Oxford, at an inn of chancery, at Lincoln's-inn, and also in the king's court, from the lowest degree to the highest, and yet I have at present left but little above a hundred pounds a year, so that now we must fall to the lowest fare, and if our ability stretch not to maintain it, then may we with bag and wallets go a begging together, and hoping for charity, sing a *salve regina* at every man's door, and so still keep company and be merry together." In fact, after the resignation of his office of chancellor, he was not able for the maintenance of himself and family, sufficiently to find meat, drink, fuel, apparel, and such other necessities, but was compelled for lack of other fuel in winter before he went to bed, to cause a bundle of fern to be brought into his chamber, and with the blaze thereof to warm them, and so without any other fire to go to their bed. The Catholic mind was not therefore that which Seneca defends, which professes a contempt for riches, and is never ready to relinquish them; which proclaims that exile is an empty word, while firmly resolved to grow old amidst the enjoyments of home, and of one's native country. "*Non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnare,*" says Cicero, excusing himself to Varro, for complying with Cæsar. "*Quid faciam? temperi serviendum*

est*.” This was what the Greek poet termed the placing one’s self always on the windward side of the vessel when the other is under water, the art of all heretics and schismatics in every age, in whom the nature of Theramenes still survives, however they may boast of independence.

Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
 Νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας, καὶ
 Πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος,
 Μετακυλινθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
 Πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον,
 Μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην
 Εἰκὼν’ ἐστάναι, λαβόνθ’ ἐν
 Σχῆμα †.

Thus Sir Thomas More was condemned by many for not complying with the king. The Lord Chancellor Audley marvelled that he should be so obstinate in his own conceit, in that every body took the oath, save only the blind bishop and he. He said, “he would not have him so scrupulous of his conscience.” Others wrote to him, saying, that “one of the highest estates of the realm, and a man learned too, accounteth his conscience in this matter for a right simple scruple; and he saith when Sir Thomas says his conscience moveth him, all the nobles of the realm, and almost all other men too, go boldly forth with the contrary, and none stick thereat, save only himself and one other man, who though he be right good or very learned, yet few that love him give him the counsel against all other men to cleave to his mind alone.” Others said, “he ought to change his own conscience by conforming it to the conscience of so many others; and that since it was also by a law made by the parliament commanded, they thought that he was, upon the peril of his soul, bound to change and reform his conscience, and conform it to other men’s †.” “Thus,” as he says, “some might act through favour, and some through fear; some might happen to frame themselves a conscience, and think that while they did it for fear, God would forgive it; and some might per-

* Ep. Fam. vii.

† Aristoph. Ran. 536.

‡ Walter’s Life of Sir Thomas More.

adventure, think that they would repent and be shriven, and that so God would remit their sin ; and some might be of the mind that if they said one thing, and thought the while the contrary, God would more regard their heart than their tongue."

Alas ! how many have adopted this wisdom, when the flatteries of this world have chained their sense ! how many self-loving natures, as the poet says,

" Prison'd in mists and errors, cannot see
The way abroad that leads to happiness
Or truth, whose beamy hand should guide us in it.
What a poor value do men set of heaven !
Heaven, the perfection of all that can
Be said or thought, riches, delight, or harmony,
Health, beauty, and all these not subject to
The waste of time, but in their height eternal.
Lost for a pension, or poor spot of earth,
Favour of greatness, or an hour's faint pleasure ;
As men in scorn of a true flame that's near,
Should run to light their taper at a glowworm *."

There is another state of peace too, against which men were armed by Catholicism : for there is a mode of reasoning which places men too high above all thoughts that lead to action, when they discover, as Fontenelle observes, " the little importance of all human occupation, eliciting," as he says, " from nature her secret, and so becoming too wise and unwilling to act more." There is then need of another mode of reasoning to recall them to action, and that can be furnished by divine faith alone. The offices of the church on the annual commemoration of the martyrs, sufficiently indicated the perpetual obligation of the faithful to cherish the same spirit which had animated them. Thus she prays, in allusion to the martyr Prisca, that we may profit by the example of such faith ; to the martyr Canute, that, as he was an imitator of our Lord's passion, so we, walking in his footsteps, should attain eternal joys ; to the martyr Agnes, that we may follow the example of her whom we venerate ; to the martyr Agatha, that we may walk according to her example to God ; to the martyr Hermenegild, that we may learn from his example to

* Shirley.

despise perishable, and follow everlasting things; to the martyrs Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus, that we may imitate the virtues of those whom we commemorate; to the martyr Fidelis of Sigmaringa, that we too may be found faithful unto death; to the martyr Venantius, that we may imitate the constancy of his faith; to the martyrs Marcellinus, Peter, and Erasmus, that we may be kindled by the examples of those in whose merits we rejoice; to the martyrs Cyriac, Largus, and Smaragdus, that we may imitate the virtue of their passion; to the martyr Zephyrinus, that we may be instructed by his example; to the martyr Gorgonius, that the eternal sweetness may encompass the family of God, which in his martyr feeds upon the good odour of Christ; to the martyr Thecla, that we may profit by the example of such faith; to the martyr Callistus, that we may be restored to the love of God by the examples of his saints; to the martyr Cæcilia, that we may follow her footsteps; to the martyr St. Denis, that we may learn, by imitating him, to fear not the adversity of the world, which last invocation Joinville takes care to mention, was one of those which the king St. Louis repeated devoutly at his death. Now that these prayers were not in vain, we have demonstration; for throughout the history of the middle ages we find proof that the spirit of martyrdom was widely diffused. In almost each page of their annals we find traces of that perfect will, "such as once upon the bars held Laurence firm." Men never doubted that their friends were ready to act heroically, and offer themselves to death for a noble cause. "When I heard of the death of the blessed martyr," says Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remy, in a letter to John and Richard, two brothers, who were monks in Canterbury in the time of St. Thomas, "I thought at first that my John and Richard were buried with him, for various and vague reports left us in suspense; but whatever has happened to you after the glorification of the holy martyr, has no doubt turned to your advantage; so that whether you have been afflicted with him or comforted, I doubt not but that all has been received in augmentation of your faith; for I do not suppose you to be of so little faith as to have any fear of drinking the cup of the Lord in passion, which you fre-

quently drink in the remembrance of Christ *." Men advised each other to pray for this spirit. Thus St. Thomas of Canterbury concludes his letter to the archbishop of York with these words, "May the Most High lead your fraternity by right ways, and make it participate with those to whom the kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Gospel†." "May God give you a right heart," says a legate of Pope Alexander III. to those who were shunning persecution, "and induce you to make more account of Him than of the will of man ‡." That martyrdom was even an object of desire to innumerable persons, we find, likewise, proof.

The Legate Pierre de Castelnau, who used often to say that religion would never revive in Languedoc until that country had been moistened with a martyr's blood, used ardently to pray to God, that he might himself be the victim. His prayers were heard. "May God pardon you! as for me, I pardon you," were his last words addressed to the two assassins. St. Radegonde, while receiving her education in one of the palaces of Neustria, used often to say to her young companions, that she desired martyrdom §. St. Peter martyr never offered on the altar the blood of the Lamb without feeling a fresh desire to shed his own. The desire, in his instance, indeed, was fulfilled; but of course, in general, circumstances did not allow of its literal accomplishment. Still, as Sulpicius Severus says of St. Martin, all these men "are to be counted among the martyrs who washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb; for although the times did not permit them to gain martyrdom, yet, in desire and glory, they had the crown. Had they lived in the days of Nero and Decian, no one can doubt that they would have mounted the pile; and though not called to shed their blood, yet, through faith, they suffered a passion, the opprobrium of the envious, and the persecutions of the wicked ||." "Now, since there is no persecution," says an Italian writer who lived under Cosmo de Medicis, "there is no opportunity left of martyrdom; but if at present any force of the enemies of Christ should prevail, without other mode

* Lib. v. 14.

† S. Thom. Ep. cclxxix.

‡ Id. ccxxiii.

§ Vita S. Rad. auctore Fortunato.

|| Sulp. Sev. Epist.

of escape, saving faith, I think, indubitably, that the number would be immense of those who would suffer for it death and all possible tortures; for who knows not that even pirates, so far from being just men, when taken by the infidels, prefer death to denying Christ; and if in men of this kind there be found such constancy, what testimonies think you would be furnished by men of virtue and innocence * ?” When St. Ignatius of Loyola wished to express the consolations he had derived from God, his words were, that, if the Sacred Scriptures had not existed, yet, in consequence of what had been revealed to him at Manresa, he was prepared to die for the faith. “O truly blessed man,” cries St. Bonaventura, alluding to St. Francis of Assisi, “who though his flesh was not torn with the iron of the tyrant, yet lost not the resemblance to the Lamb that was slain. O truly blessed, who without falling by the sword of the persecutor, gained no less the palm of martyrdom.” So the antiphon of the Benedictus in the office of St. Francis begins with “O martyr desiderio Francisce,” and in the Litaneæ of the friars the same expression is used. In the first nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua they sing, “Fervet ad martyrium, dum rex terræ sævit; sed hoc desiderium suum non implevit, de quo rex regnantium aliud decrevit.” To him also they apply the words “martyr desiderio,” and in the hymn commemorating his joys they sing,

“Gaude quod martyrium
Tanto ardore flagitasti,
Et regulam tuam mutasti
Ut ires ad supplicium.”

But much remains to be observed with regard to Catholic manners during these ages, in regard to the spirit of martyrdom; for besides the cause and the desire, it was the disposition of mind also which then proclaimed the martyr. In the first place, there was a reliance on things not seen, on the great truths of the eternal world. Hence there was much in men that lay hid, like roots, and forces working under ground. Catholics were to confess God rather like the holy innocents, “non lo-

* Bened. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi.—
Ap. Thes. Antiq. vi.

quando sed moriendo;" that is, as the Church in her collect for the day intimates, to confess the faith which is on the tongue, by those manners which almost ensure persecution. The spirit of the great mass of the faithful, in all ages of the Church, was that ascribed by St. Cyprian to his contemporaries, "*sciebant mori, non sciebant disputare.*" "Speech is great, but silence is greater." Death, judgment, and eternity, not the world's favour or men's opinion, lay in the background of whatsoever men did in opposition to others. As a late writer observes, "Their souls, homeless on earth, made their home in the other world, like Dante saying to himself, Florence thou mayest never see; but hell, or purgatory, or heaven thou shalt surely see *."

Hence they sought not that their voice should be heard on earth, but as the Church says on the vigil of St. Laurence, that place should be given to it in heaven. "*Oratio mea mundo est:*" they repeated after her, "*et ideo peto, ut detur locus voci meæ in cœlo: quia ibi est iudex meus, et conscius meus in excelsis: ascendat ad Dominum deprecatio mea †.*"

Again, when men suffered thus for justice, there was to be a voluntary sacrifice, which alone pleases God, as a correspondent of St. Thomas observes, not a mere compromise with necessity. St. Gregory the Great, preaching on the festival of Saints Nereus and Achilles, Domitilla, and Pancras, says, "These saints, before whose tomb we are assembled, despised the world, and trampled it under their feet, when peace, plenty, riches, and health gave it charms." Such were the martyrs and confessors of the middle ages.

Further, there was no vapouring affectation of independence and defiance of death along with secret provision for security. Here was a great contrast to the mind of those who rose up against truth in the latter years. Luther used often to declare, that he stood alone, and that he would descend to martyrdom from his Sinai and his Sion, though he remained quietly in his fortress. "When he said that," observes a French philosopher, "so far from being alone, he was behind the dukes of Mecklenbourg and Brunswick, behind the grand master of the Teutonic order, behind the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; he had

* Carlyle.

† Offert. Vig. S. Laur.

before him the fires kindled by himself, a barricade of flames across which it was not possible to reach him *." Those who are acquainted with the history of manners in subsequent times, need not be told that within the camp of enemies to Rome it was difficult to find the union of meekness, patience, and resolution. Their great men were generally all fighters and wranglers, lauded even still chiefly for their valour, for their having had "the bravest hearts in the world." Thus Richter says of Luther—"His words are half battles:" and another says, "The essential quality of him was that he could fight and conquer; that he was a right piece of human valour:" and valiant he was assuredly, if we understand by it what our fathers in their old books style, "wicked courage." Whereas the spirit of the ages of faith was that which the Venerable Bede ascribes to the persecuted Church, in the lesson read at All Saints; which is strengthened, he says, more and more, "non resistendo, sed perferendo:" for all through these ages we find verified, within certain limits, what St. Augustin says, that the city of Christ on earth in its pilgrimage does not contend against its impious persecutors for temporal safety, but rather declines to combat, that it may obtain eternal. Its members are bound, imprisoned, slain, tortured, burnt, torn, slaughtered, and multiplied. It is not for them to fight for safety, but to despise safety for the Saviour †. "*Patientia Domini iu Malcho vulnerata est,*" says Tertullian, "*itaque et gladii opera maledixit in posterum.*" Such was the old observation: and here in consequence it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between Catholic manners and those adopted by the founders and followers of the modern religions who rejected it, and yet professed to suffer as martyrs for the cause of God. Many of these, like the ministers of the Vaudois, were avowed warriors, boasting even of their titles of captains and pastors, as when Leger, captain and pastor, wrote an eloquent history of the sufferings of his party, and Arnaud, colonel and pastor, the narrative entitled "*The Glorious Entry,*" in which he called upon his party to massacre their enemies. They were, no doubt, brave men, and, in the world's acceptance, heroes; but assuredly it is not easy to trace

* Chateaubriand.

† De Civitate Dei, xxii. 6.

a resemblance in them to those who directed their lives by the rule of this eighth beatitude. In Protestantism every where there was bravery enough, fierce fighting in abundance ; but not braver or fiercer than that of the old Scandinavian ancestors of its abettors, whose exploits were not exactly a fitting preparation for the Gospel. Those who witnessed its first outbreak, did not overlook this difference. " Compare Catholic recusants with the recusant Huguenots of France, who are brethren with ours in England," says the author of *Jerusalem and Babel* ; " you would think our Catholic gentlemen here to be all priests in respect of their sober, humble, and Christian carriage of themselves, whensoever they fall under question for religion ; their very ministers there you would take to be all swordsmen, captains, sons of Mars, so much fury and rage breathes out in every word or action of theirs which relates to the public. Catholics here are persons, of all others, most unwilling to offend. Recusants there most unwilling to obey. These defend their religion with their swords, and by resistance of the civil magistrate : ours only with the pen and with their prayers. Ours endure, and a *Scio Cui credidi*, with St. Paul, is all their comfort. These endure nothing, will trust nobody with their cause but themselves, and their cautionary towns ; they have their Beza's, their Marlorates, Chamiers, and other firebrands, swarming thick in all parts of the kingdom, ready to incense and set on fire the distempered multitude against their lawful governors. They have their Montaubans, their Rochelles, Saumurs, Montpeliers, places of refuge and retreat, strong and well-fortified to shelter themselves when they cannot make good their designs in the field. Catholics here have none of all these. They have no preachers but preachers of penance and mortification ; they have no sermons at any time but such as teach them obedience, patience, resignation to the will of God, and to be willing to suffer whatsoever the will of God is ; they have no places of security but their own unarmed houses, which, if they change, it is always for the Fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, or some other prison and place of restraint. See them under the persecutions of Edward and Elizabeth, giving an example of the patience of true Israelites. The arms they took up were not Zuinglius's sword nor Beza's pistols, but the ancient

and most proper arms of true Christians, prayers and tears, submission, resignation, patience under the rod of God and of a wicked king*." "As for the English Catholic clergy," says Cardinal Allen, "all they have done has been done only by the power of priesthood, in a spiritual, silent, and peaceable manner, not with riots, tumults, or warlike concourse. They have done it, as the Apostles and other holy men did in the primitive Church, by travels, watchings, fastings, perils at the ports, perils on the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enemies, perils of false brethren, fears of the laws, fears of hurting their friends, fears of scandalizing the weak, by contumelies, disgraces, poverty, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths.†"

Let us hear the sentiments of the ages of faith respecting the necessity of cultivating such manners. "Patience by beatitude," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "is more excellent than by moral virtue‡." He alludes to the grace which enabled men to suffer for justice in the true spirit of this eighth circle of the happy life—to that divine patience proposed to the imitation of the faithful by the Church in her collect for Palm Sunday: the presence of which, as Drexelius observes, is synonymous with the presence of God§, and of which every history of the middle ages contains such wonderful examples. The rule was universal, to the observance of which each instance is ascribed, as where we read of Everacle, bishop of Liege, in the time of the first Otho, that this learned man endured many persecutions, but conquered by patience, rendering to no one evil for evil||. "Without patience," said Tertullian, "no one can gain beatitude, no one can be poor in spirit, or meek, no one can mourn as the blessed, or suffer persecution for justice. Non licet nobis una die sine patientia manere."

"As patience is in God, so impatience reigns in his adversary and our adversary, whence it appears how especially it is contrary to faith. Man fell by impatience; and, to say all in one word, every sin is to be ascribed to impatience. *Malum impatientia est boni*. Formerly the rule was eye for eye; for patience was not

* Jerusalem and Babel. † Apology for the Engl. Seminaries.

‡ Serm. xii.

§ *Gymnasium Patientiæ*.

|| *Gesta Episcop. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 861.*

yet on earth, because faith was not. But when the Lord and master of patience had come, it was not lawful even to use the tongue, insomuch that one could not say, 'Thou fool,' without danger of the judgment *."

"Patience," says St. Cyprian, "is that which commends us to God. It is this which restrains anger, bridles the tongue, governs the mind, represses violence, teaches men to be mild against injuries and insults, and ready to forgive enemies: it is patience which firmly guards the foundations of our faith. This patience the philosophers also professed to follow. Theirs was a false patience, as well as a false wisdom; for how could he be either wise or patient who knew neither the wisdom nor the patience of God †."

Cervantes, describing the habits of a nomadic tribe, says that those who compose it can be martyrs, though never confessors; but he forgot the distinction which made patience and discipline not more needful for those who sought the white than for the claimants of the purple crown. In the Catholic mind, with all its heroism, there was found that temperance of judgment which belongs to men accustomed to meet with resistance; while in that which rejected the holy discipline, there was petulance and defiance, as when a rivulet rushes with noise into the sea, and bubbles on madly, though sure the next moment to have its noisy little wave recoil before the unruffled ocean, which heeds not its entry.

St. Bonaventura indeed says expressly that patience is the eighth and last beatitude. "The shield of patience," saith he, "ought to be triangular: in the lower angle ought to be the fear of divine punishment; in the right-hand angle the love of one's neighbour, and in the left the Passion of Christ ‡!" Such is the blazon of those who suffered persecution for justice during the middle ages. Hence we find that men who showed the most undaunted resolution were precisely those who were the most gentle and pacific; men like those of whom St. Hilary of Arles said, "*Nunquam in ore nisi pax, nisi castitas, nisi pietas, nisi caritas;*" who seemed to have ever in their ears the admonition of the great St. Anthony: "*Cura ut omnes homines te benedicant;*"—

* De Patientia. † S. Cypr. Tract. de Bono Patientiæ.

‡ Dietæ Salutis, c. 7.

"My son, be meek, long-suffering, patient, and a lover of men *;" who evinced in all their words and actions that amiable suavity which could often disarm the most hostile prejudice; for every indication of a subtle ambition was alien to the blessed state of sufferers for justice, who knew well that as the ancient moralist observed, "*Satis ipsum nomen philosophiæ, etiam si modeste tractetur, invidiosum est* †." What we shall witness therefore in the succeeding pages will be a supernatural heroism, resistance, not from a coarse disobedient obstinacy of disposition, but from that sense of duty in a mildly understanding heart, of which every expression is soft and great, and which requires always loyal submission to legitimate authority. "It will be the fortitude, which," as Albertus Magnus distinguishes, "is of hope without presumption; not the blind fortitude, which is of ignorance from the absence of thought; not the fortitude of fury, as of animals or of furious men ‡," like those of old who thought it a shame and misery not to die in battle; but that learned in the confessional, where that grain of seed is sown, which so multiplies in the martyrs, as St. Augustin says: "for that grain," he adds, "is contempt of the world;" of which St. Anselm, in later ages, sings,—

"Mens tua terrenis non hæreat atque caducis :

Labitur et transit quicquid in orbe vides.

Vita quid est præsens ? tentatio, pugna molesta :

Hic acies semper, semper et hostis adest §."

That grain is the love of God, by which spirits have been sometimes suddenly transformed; as when donna Sancha Carilla, daughter of don Louis Fernandez of Cordova, seigneur of Guadalcazar, being on the point of going to court as lady of honour to the queen, went previously to confession to St. John of Avila, and on her return from church found all changed within her; so that, instead of proceeding to the court, she resolved to renounce the vanities of the world. The resolution imbibed was therefore not that of men, in whom any thing of the savage enters; men whose physical energy alone might explain

* Regula S. Antonii.

† Seneca, Epist. v.

‡ Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. ii. 8, 9.

§ Carmen de Contemptu Mundi.

their constancy in resistance ; but it was the firmness of the placid and serene, the sacrifice often of the weak, and delicate, and faint-hearted, whose normal disposition was to yield and to acquiesce ; who were sustained by no passion or animal excitement ; for they were impressed with a conviction of what St. John Climacus says, "*Tutum non est cum passione aliqua theologiam attingere ** ;" and of men, so humble, so humiliated in their own esteem, that they feared even to aspire at martyrdom lest it was a prize too great for them. When the Manichæans vowed with loud cries to shed his blood, St. Dominick, presenting his breast to them, said, "No, no, I am not worthy of martyrdom ; I have not merited that death."

"It was said unto me," says Sir Thomas More, "that if I had as lief be out of the world as in it, why did I not before speak plain out against the statute ? It appeared well I was not content to die, though I said so. Whereto I answered, as the truth is, that I have not been a man of such holy living, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption might suffer me to fall ; and therefore I put not myself forward, but drew back. And albeit I wot well my lewdness hath been such, that I know myself well worthy that God should let me slip : yet can I not but trust in his merciful goodness, that as his grace hath strengthened me hitherto, and made me content in my heart to lose goods, lands, and life too, rather than to swear against my conscience, so He will continue to give me strength ; and if He suffers me to play St. Peter, who began to sink through fear, I trust He will hold me up. Yea, and if He suffer me to swear and forswear Him too, (which our Lord of his tender passion keep me from, and let me lose if it so fall, and never win thereby !) yet after shall I trust that his goodness will cast upon me a tender and piteous eye, as He did upon the fallen Apostle, and make me stand up again and confess the truth of my conscience afresh, and abide the shame and the harm of my fault here." Thus did he exemplify the words of St. Augustin, that "all fortitude is in humility, because all pride is fragile,—in humilitate est tota fortitudo." "Therefore," adds the holy doctor, "fear not the proud †." Again, "love, the cause of all crimes," as St. Augustin says, "being directed

* Scala Parad. 27.

† In Ps. xcii.

with the same impulse which moved some to the world, moved others to the Creator of the world*, so as to make them willing to leave all for His sake. Love was their master to lead them on the way to heaven." "If any one," says St. Thomas, "exercise an act of fortitude for the sake of the love of God, that act is materially one of fortitude, but formally it is an act of charity†." Now, as St. Augustin says, "He who wishes to understand the force of this city should understand the force of charity; that is, the force which no one conquers. No floods of this world, no rivers of temptation, can extinguish this fire; for love is strong as death; and as death cannot be resisted when it comes by any arts or medicines, since you are born mortal, so against the violence of charity the world can do nothing. With this charity the martyrs were enkindled, when they were led by the love of Christ and of truth to their passion‡." "Why do some," he asks, "wither away in persecution, who had received the word with joy? Because they have no deep root. What is that root? Charity§."

Of this remark a memorable illustration had been furnished in the third century:—Sapricius, the priest of Antioch, had refused to be reconciled to Nicephorus the layman, though the latter had implored forgiveness for Christ's sake. Afterwards, as he was led to martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian and Gallien, on being again implored by him to forgive him, he refused so much as to look at him; suddenly, when arrived at the place of execution, he declared himself ready to sacrifice to the gods, and so lost the victory which was then eagerly sought for by Nicephorus, who was immediately put to death for declaring himself a Christian, and who thus received the three immortal crowns of faith, humility, and charity, of which Sapricius had made himself unworthy.

That divine love was the strength of martyrs appeared also on a most affecting occasion in the life of Sir Thomas More. After he had taken leave of his wife and children at the garden-gate of his house at Chelsea, on the river's bank, and entered the boat with his son-in-law Roper, to proceed to Westminster, to attend the summons which he

* In Ps. xxxi.

† xiii. a. 1.

‡ In Ps. xlvii.

§ In Ps. xc.

had received, his countenance bespoke a heavy heart, and for some time he sat wrapped in silent thought. It was evident that the internal conflict was strong ; but, at last, his mind being lightened and relieved by those high principles to which, with him, every low consideration yielded, he pressed Roper's arm, and said to him in a significant whisper, " Son Roper, I thank our Lord, the field is won ! " " What he meant thereby," continues Roper, " I knew not at the time ; but, being loth to appear ignorant, I answered, ' Sir, I am very glad thereof.' But, as I conjectured, it was the love he had to God which wrought in him so effectually as to conquer all his animal affections."

Catholics, in suffering persecution, were to imitate what they worshipped, as the Church prays in her collect on the day of St. Stephen ; they were consequently " to love their enemies, after the example of him who knew how to pray for his persecutors."

The letter of St. Leger, to announce the prospect of his martyrdom, to Sigrade, his mother, who was a nun in the abbey of our Lady at Soissons, is still extant. After speaking of his desire to suffer, fearing lest she should give way to any sentiment of hatred against his persecutors, he reminds her of the necessity of our following the example of Christ in forgiving them and praying for them. Such were invariably the dispositions of those martyrs of the middle ages. Thus, among the reflections written in the Tower by Sir Thomas More, we read,— " Bear no malice nor ill-will to any man living ; for either the man is good or naught ; if he be good, and I hate him, then am I naught ; if he be naught, either he shall amend, and die good and go to God ; or abide naught, and die naught, and so be lost. If he be saved, he shall not fail, if I be saved too, as I trust to be, to love me heartily, and I shall then love him likewise. And why then should I now hate one who is to love me for evermore ? On the other side, if he shall continue naught, and be lost, that is so terrible and eternal a sorrow to him, that I should think myself a cruel wretch, if I did not now rather pity his pain than malign his person."

In the mystery of the Passion lay the secret of all this strength, as the old architect, Ervin von Steinbach, intimates in the sculpture on the portal of the cathedral of Strasbourg, where the church is represented by a woman

holding in one hand a chalice full of hosts, and in the other a cross, with these words inscribed over her: "The blood of Christ enables me to triumph *." "For what Christian," says Louis of Blois, "will not feel himself full of courage to support patiently outrages and injuries, if he consider with attention how our Lord Jesus Christ has supported with sweetness, with humility, with patience, the unheard-of bitterness and pains of his passion? He heard himself treated as a demoniac and a seducer; he was seized by impious men and sinners; he saw himself loaded with chains, led away, accused, struck, mocked, despised, torn with stripes, crowned with thorns, presented with gall and vinegar, fastened to a cross with great nails, assailed with all kinds of blasphemy; and during these horrible scenes he preserved all the calm of an unalterable patience. This innocent Lamb opened not his mouth, excepting that from the height of the fatal instrument he prayed his Father for his persecutors. Woe to us if we ever lose sight of these noble and fine examples which our divine Redeemer has left us †!"

"You know," says St. Bernard, "that I speak often of the passion of Christ, and God knows that I carry it in my heart. My highest philosophy is to know Jesus and him crucified. As long as I live I shall have in mind the outrages and buffets, the derisions, the nails, and all the griefs which He endured, in order that I may have courage to walk in his footsteps and resemble Him ‡."

"As sharp wine," says St. Bonaventura, "becomes pleasant if it is poured through aromatics, so the tribulations of the world grow sweet, if they pass through the memory of the passion of Jesus §."

In the prose of the office of St. Francis, his desire of martyrdom is represented as the result of compassion for the sufferings of our Lord,

"Jesu passo compatiens
Exponit crucem sitiens
Se genti paganorum."

"Let not therefore," says St. Basil, "the calumny of lies terrify you, nor the threats of the powerful disturb

* Andin. Hist. de Calvin. l.

† B. Louis de Blois, Instruct. de Vit. Christian. Appendix.

‡ Serm. de Pass. Dom. fer. iv. hebd. sanct.

§ Diet. Salutis, 7.

you, nor the laughter and insult of your familiar acquaintances afflict you, nor the condemnation of men cast you down, of men who apply themselves to deceit, in pretending to give you counsel; against all these let right reason contend, calling to aid as a protector in the war, our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, for whose sake to be afflicted is sweet, and to die is gain *." "In die tribulationis meæ Deum exquisivi. In the day of your tribulations," asks St. Augustin, "what do you seek? If it be imprisonment which causes tribulation, you seek deliverance from prison; if it be a fever, you seek health; if it be hunger, you seek abundance; if it be losses, you seek gain; if it be a journey, you seek to return to the home of your flesh. Do you wish to be victorious in your tribulation? seek God, not something else by God, but by tribulation, God †."

"Domine, pati et contemni pro te!" Such was the recompense that St. John of the Cross desired, when he replied to the unearthly voice which addressed him in the monastery of Segovia. Hence we read of many holy persons, that like St. Aldegonde, while governing her convent of Maubeuge, they received not indeed as glory, according to the boast of the philosopher, but as a gift of God, the calumnies which sought to blacken their reputation. "O what a brave armour is an innocent soul! How like a rock it bids defiance to a storm, against whose ribs the insolent waves but dash themselves in pieces, and fall and hide their heads in passionate foam ‡!" The saints of God feared not the stripes of the executioners, dying for the name of Christ, that they might be heirs in the house of the Lord. They delivered their bodies to death for God.

The mother of St. Symphorien, in the city of Autun, in the second century, beholding her son who had been baptized by St. Benigne, one of the apostles of Burgundy, going to martyrdom, exclaimed, "Nate, memento æternæ vitæ, cælum respice, et ibi regnantem intueri; tibi enim vita non eripitur, sed in melius mutatur §." The youth thought only of sacrifice and fidelity; the mother's tenderness was consoled with the prospect of the joy reserved for her child.

* S. Basil, Epist. lxxix. et ccxi.

† In Ps. lxxvi.

‡ Shirley.

§ Act. S. Symph.

"I have lived, methinks, long enough," said Sir Thomas More, "nor do I look to live much longer. I have, since I came in the Tower, looked once or twice to have given up the ghost; and, in good faith, my heart waxed the lighter with the hope thereof. I have a long reckoning to give, but I put my trust in God, and in the merits of his bitter passion; and I beseech Him to give me the mind to long to be out of this world, and to be with Him."

"The good that I expect is so great, that all pain to me is pleasure," said St. Francis, commencing his memorable sermon at the castle of Montefeltro, to which he had repaired to be present at the ceremony of conferring knighthood on the young count, saying to brother Leon who accompanied him, "Let us go to this feast: with God's help, we shall make there a spiritual knight. *E tanto il ben ch' aspetto che ogni pena m'è diletto*, and then he spoke of the martyrs who exposed themselves for the sake of heaven, to torments and death." What were persecutions and death to minds so tempered! The Catholic poet does but express their feelings, when he says,

"It will be easy to die;
All life is but a walk in misery."

Who has made you afraid to die?

— "When our souls shall leave their dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the scutcheons on our tomb
Or silken banners over us."

Yet was there, as I have already said, no boasting or defiance of dangers. "I forget not," said Sir Thomas, "the counsel of Christ, that ere I should begin to build this castle for the safeguard of mine own soul, I should sit and reckon what the charge should be. I counted, Margaret, full surely many a restless night, while my wife slept, and weighed, ere I slept, what peril might befall me: so far that I am sure there came no care above mine. And in devising thereupon, daughter, I had a full heavy heart. But yet, I thank our Lord, that, for all that, I never thought to change though the very uttermost should happen to me that my fear ran upon. I

know my own frailty full well, and the natural faintness of my own heart ; and if I had not trusted that God would give me strength, you may be very sure I should not have come here ; for, in faith, I know few so faint-hearted as myself." So true to his original is the poet, saying,

— " I have a sense of what
I am to lose, a life : but I am so fortified
With valiant thoughts and innocence, I shall
When my last breath is giving up, to lose
Itself i' the air, be so remote from fear
That I will cast my face into one smile,
Which shall, when I am dead, acquit all trembling
And be a story to the world, how free
From paleness I took leave of earth."

Or as in these lines :

— " I have not lived
After the rate to fear another world.
We come from nothing into life, a time
We measure with a short breath, and that often
Made tedious too with our own cares that fill it,
Which like so many atoms in a sunbeam
But crowd and jostle one another. All
From the adored purple to the hair-cloth
Must centre in a shade, and they that have
Their virtues to wait on them, bravely mock
The rugged storms, that so much fright them here,
When their soul's launch'd by death into a sea
That's ever calm *."

The poet perhaps in these latter lines falls rather into the strain of human rhetoricians, but in the genuine expressions of the middle ages the inflexibility is wholly supernatural. In the old mystery of the Passion, the language of those who suffer persecution on account of justice is faithfully copied. There in reply to the cries of nature emitted by the holy mother, her divine Son observes, they are

" Sweet and humane, sprung from blessed charity,
But the holy will provides that the result should other be."

* Shirley.

To her petition

" At least vouchsafe of heavenly grace,
To die without pain in briefest space,"

he replies,

" My death will be filled with bitterness."

She continues,

" Wait for old age still teaching truth."

He answers,

" In the flower of my youth ;"

and when she adds,

" Your answers have my heart's blood chill'd,"

he replies,

" The book of God must be fulfill'd."

" Ne donnez que réponses dures.
Accomplir fault les Escriptions."

Of the constancy and heroism of the devout female sex in suffering for justice, so wonderfully displayed in primitive times, the history of the ages of faith continues to furnish memorable instances. Indeed in all persecutions for a holy cause, women were almost of necessity involved, in consequence of that devoted ardour for justice and faith, which ever distinguishes their sex. The Church is styled in Scripture a woman, according to Albertus Magnus, on account of her zeal for the salvation of souls. Innumerable women in the middle ages resembled in their sufferings St. Olympias, that glory of the widows of the eastern church, so respected by all the bishops of the age, and yet who, as St. Chrysostom says, " was perpetually the butt of injuries, outrages, and calumnies ;" who afterwards suffered persecution as the friend of St. Chrysostom, from whose cause no force could ever separate her. Such were the devout women of the ages of faith, whose invocation the holy church implores, proclaiming in her prayer to God, as on the festival which recalls St. Jane, that they " had been granted to walk through all the paths of life in a spirit of admirable fortitude," meek but unconquerable, like her whose court they loved, established in Sion, resting in

the holy city, having their power in Jerusalem, their root in the portion of their God, and their abode in the full assembly of the saints. "Better that women weep," said one who persecuted the church in Scotland, "than that bearded men be forced to weep," a reply, breathing the spirit of the cause he advocated, as far from wisdom as from love. Ah! with their tears, as with those of the queen of angels, may it ever be my wish to mingle mine. It excited no surprise in the middle ages to see women pre-eminent in fortitude, exercising its especial act, which was adhering inseparably to God; for as Albertus Magnus says, "that mother of grace, whose words they oft repeated as their own, and who in all her actions was their type, possessed it to a degree transcendent, proving herself stronger than the three strongest of the strong,—stronger than God, death, and Satan. For the humility of the blessed Virgin conquered God; and she was stronger than death; for as death entered by a woman, so life, which destroyed it, entered by her; and she was stronger than Satan, for she fulfilled the promise—*ipsa conteret caput* *."

The devotion and generous heart's love with which the memory of the first examples was cherished during the middle ages, shows with what ardour the weakest were prepared to imitate their constancy, in their patience possessing their souls, and like sister Lucy, the spouse of Christ, to conquer the enemy with their own blood. Some like myself, who daily witness in those who shed domestic bliss around them, the noble virtues of the olden time, may be able to appreciate those portraits of the mother and the wife, which illuminate so many pages of the ancient books; but others less privileged can hardly now form an idea of the transhuman power over hearts that was then inherent in such names as recalled the victories of martyrdom conceded to the weaker sex, and of the unceasing devotion with which their palms were venerated. St. Eulalia at Barcelona, St. Leocadia at Toledo, St. Lucy at Syracuse, St. Ursula at Cologne, in whose honour was constructed the college of the Sorbonne at Paris, St. Agatha, the glory of whose birth was disputed by the cities

* Albert. Mag. Quæst. super Missas lxvi. tom. xx.

of Palermo and Catana, in which latter she received the crown in the persecution of Decius, whose last words were, "Lord, my Creator, thou hast always protected me from the cradle; thou hast taken from me the love of the world, and given me patience to suffer.—Receive now my soul,"—St. Agnes, who suffered under Diocletian, in whose praises, as St. Jerome says, "the tongues and pens of all nations were employed, who overcame both the cruelty of the tyrant and the tenderness of her age, being only thirteen years of age at the time of her victory, of which Rome was the theatre, whose festival was of obligation in England for women, as appears from the decree of a council of Worcester in 1240,—St. Thecla, called the first martyr of her sex by St. Isidore, and by all the Greeks, whose name was never more honoured in the Church than during the middle ages, as many monuments attest,—such were the patterns of female constancy that were studied with a love which, perhaps, only a woman could describe, by the daughters and mothers of the ages of faith, who, by their manner of welcoming their memories, of appreciating and receiving these traditions of their sex's heroism, gave an insight into the spiritual condition of their own hearts, of which the mysteries, as a commentator on Dante says, have never yet, perhaps, been all disclosed. O with what meek reverence did they pray for grace to celebrate with a worthy mind their yearly festivals, that they, too, might be always ready, through holy desire, to relinquish the felicity they had on earth, to forsake their weeping children like cruel mothers, and to forget human pity while hastening to a divine crown! for they desired to sing before the angels of God; they desired to enjoy their pure and holy friendship as denizens of the skies, where they should die no more, where they would find true happiness that would last unchanged for ever*. But the middle ages were not left to these memories alone. St. Nunillon and St. Alodia of Castille, St. Flora of Seville, St. Mary of Estremadura, St. Columba of Cordova, these virgin martyrs of Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries, during the reigns of Abdalasisa and of Abderamen, evinced the fervour and heroism of the primi-

* St. August. in Ps. cxxxvii.

tive martyrs. St. Dymphne, in the eighth century, in Brabant ; St. Pomposa of Cordova, in the ninth ; St. Guiborat of Suabia, in the tenth, martyred by the Huns at St. Gall—were recent examples to prove the perpetuity of the same graces among this favoured portion of the Church of Christ. Minstrelsy itself aspired to sing these sacrifices ; for faith rendered them familiar to the haunts of chivalry. Then sung the harper of Eudocia, whose lover had embraced the creed of Mahomet, who in consequence refused his offers and fell in the massacre by the Mahometans on the third day after their departure from Damascus. Such were oft his themes. There is something in all the female figures of the middle ages which, unsubdued by the touch of womanhood in them, or rather assisted by the innocent expression of its thoughts, which is mystical and indescribable by word, constitutes a beauty that seems in the act of passing into another beauty, spiritual and immense, shedding a light of love which is hailed by angels. 'Tis not their shape, which yet hath so much sweetness, that some pale religious hermit might suspect they were the blessed saints he prayed to *,—'tis not the quiet lustre of their domestic virtues which made the poet say, that as wives they were the good man's Paradise, and the bad's first step to heaven †,—'tis not that grace of ineffable courtesy which shone in Beatrice, when at her salutation in the street of Florence, it seemed to Dante as if he beheld all the delights of beatitude ; but it is the look which speaks of heaven, and of the will to die for it : the look which recalls a Thecla and Cecilia, and those other precious names repeated in the holy canon,—something which no one can contemplate without letting escape a sigh ; something which kindles a flame of charity so as to make the beholder pardon from that moment, whoever had offended him, leaving him unable to utter in reply to any question that might be asked, other word but "love;" something to announce that miracle of divine power which confers on the weaker sex the victory of martyrdom, that virginal sacrifice which surpasses the limits of the human understanding, to attest the reality of that love strong as death, which with a low, gentle

* Shirley.

† Id.

voice of infinite tenderness speaks into our very heart of hearts. Hear how the Catholic poet paints it:

— " There I saw

So sweet a face, so harmless, so intent
Upon her prayers—
Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,
Which suddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd
With its own swelling, dropp'd upon her bosom,
Which, by reflection of her light, appear'd
As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament:
After, her looks grew cheerful, and I saw
A smile shoot graceful upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief.
And with it many beams twisted themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the angels walk
To and again from heaven *."

Again, who has not been struck at the instances recorded in the history of the middle ages, of the fervour and fortitude with which youths, like blessed Agapite, under Aurelian, a martyr in his fifteenth year, sought to suffer persecution, and even death, for the love of Christ, of which the crusade of the children, that strange, and to many inexplicable phenomenon, may have been, after all, nothing but an eccentric developement †? "I saw a multitude in fury burning, slay with stones a stripling youth, and shout amain, Destroy, destroy!" Dante's vision was often realized on earth, and each century could furnish instances to which the words chanted by the Church on the festival of St. Laurence were no less applicable than to the holy Levite, "*Nos quasi senes levioris pugnae cursum recipimus, te autem quasi juvenem manet gloriosior de tyranno triumphus.*"

Of the constancy of boys and maidens in enduring the tortures of martyrdom, innumerable instances occur. In the early days of the Church we find those of Pergentinus and Laurentinus at Arezzo; of St. Justus at Auxerre; of Antoninus and Aristeus at Capua; of Urban, Prilidian, and Epolonius at Antioch; of Peter at Lampsacus; of the eighty-four boys and maidens who suffered with St. Babylas; of Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianilla, with

* Shirley.

† La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves, p. 114.

their tutor, at Aquileia; of the four boys at Constantinople, with St. Lucillianus, of St. Prisca, at Rome; of the boy Barula, with St. Romanus, of St. Eulalia, at Barcelona; of the two boys, with St. Lucian, at Nicomedia; of St. Fausta at Cyzicus; of St. Agnes; of the seven sons of St. Felicitas; of the seven sons of Symphorosa; of the many youths of Novara, with their tutor St. Laurentins; of the boys who suffered with St. Rogatian, as mentioned by St. Cyprian. It was the pleasure of the Lord of angels, that all through the ages of faith, similar examples should occur, of youthful constancy in suffering tortures and death for Christ, either from the idolaters, as in Japan, or from the Moors and Turks, as in Spain and Barbary, or from the heretics, as in all parts of Europe. Twenty-one boys of the Justiniani family were sent into the Tauric Chersonesus by Soliman, on the capture of Chio, in 1566, but ten of the finest lads were reserved for Constantinople, to be nourished as pages, not one of whom could be induced to deny the faith of Christ, nearly all dying under the scourge, rather than apostatize. One of them being near death, was advised to lift up his finger in token of abjuring the faith, when on the contrary, he closed his hand so firmly, that neither alive nor dead, could it ever again be opened*.

Truly in a young heart there is often a mysterious elevation which is sufficient to awaken thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls. Thomas Everard Digby, in the sixth year of his age, suffered intense agony from the falling of a marble table on his foot, from which the blood streamed in torrents. After writhing in torture for some time, repressing suddenly his phrenzied sorrow, he made an effort to assume his wonted tone of voice, and said gravely, "I don't bear this as patiently as St. Francis endured his stigmas for the love of Christ." He had been familiar with a picture of the seraphic Father. When asked after some weeks, while still a sufferer, whether he would undergo the same pain in the other foot, if Christ or the holy Catholic church required such a sacrifice; after a pause, and with a look of tenderness, of a trembling, longing, pitying love, which moved to tears all who heard it, he replied, that he would willingly.

* Hieron de Marinis de Genuensi Dignitate, Thesaur. Antiq. Italise, l.

They who would observe how the spirit of martyrs entered into children and youths during the ages of faith, should consult the "*Paradisus Puerorum*" of the jesuit Berlaymont, in which are most affecting histories collected.

So numerous are the parallel examples upon record, that one might suppose the preference of the cross to the jewels which St. Edburga, daughter of king Edward, evinced in her early age, was a general characteristic of youth in the middle ages *. St. Theresa from her childhood aspired to martyrdom. She actually arranged with one of her brothers, whose stripling choice was like her own, to pass over to the Moors, begging their bread by the way, in order to die by their hands. The two holy children set out, fully determined to sacrifice their lives for God; but they were discovered before they had proceeded far from the town, and brought back to their parents, who reprehended them severely; when the brother, with more candour than discernment, threw all the blame on his little sister.

As in the infancy of the church, when many young persons suffered from the Arians, so in later time a similar persecution was suffered from those who assailed the church. Thus in 1578, on the seventh of February, Thomas Scherodus, a boy of fourteen, was hanged in London, after a captivity of six months in chains and fasting, and other torments, for refusing to renounce the authority of the Pope. Thomas, Robert, Richard, and John of Wortinthon, with their uncle, a priest, Thomas Wortinthon, the eldest seventeen, the youngest eleven years of age, were martyred in Lancashire in the time of Elizabeth. The glorious answers of these boys before the earl of Derby and the ministers of the new sect, recall the earliest pages of Christian history †.

William Ellis, a page to sir Everard Digby, who might have escaped when his master was seized, for he offered him horse and money, but the youth refused, saying, "He would live and die with him," being taken and condemned, was offered his life if he would embrace the Anglican opinions; but he spurned the proposal, and in the end escaped to the Continent.

* *Paradisus Puerorum*, 449—53.

† Ribbaden. in Append. ad Sanderum de Schismate Angl. 12.

Similar examples were not wanting in other countries. "It is wonderful," says Berlaymont, "to hear what persecutions were endured joyfully by children in Germany from the heretics who followed Luther *. Parents, during these horrors, were often the murderers of their sons, while sons restored their parents to the true life by recalling them to faith †."

So generally was the heroic spirit of martyrdom diffused during the middle ages, that instances repeatedly occur of parents evincing a supernatural joy from anticipating the sufferings of their children in the cause of justice. To use the expression of the Greek poet, who describes the force of maternal love by ascribing to one of his matrons the line,

Εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπός. ὀφθαλμός βίου ‡,

the mother of the middle ages, who loved so tenderly, was willing that the eye of her life should be made an offering to God.

"Adelheyd de Mulberg, whom all the city of Basle regards as a living saint, related to me," says Berlaymont, "that her parents, who were simple peasants, had three children, a second daughter, Catherine, and a boy, John; and that it happened on a certain time, when they were removing to another house to inhabit it, the three children immediately ran into the garden, and, with child-like glee, each made choice of a particular shrub to be its own, and saying that it would take care of it. When spring arrived, and the blossoms came forth, the shrubs by the two first selected produced a white flower, as if denoting the purity of the sisters who chose them, and who both embraced a religious life; while the third bore a red rose, as if prophetically indicating that the boy who took it for himself would attain to that love of justice which, by the sufferings it drew on him in his zeal to extend it, was doubtless equivalent to martyrdom §." A great French writer, who has drunk deeply of the spirit of the ages of faith, has generalized these facts, and affirmed that, under the influence of the Catholic religion, the desire of youth is to suffer or to die. "At the age of twenty-five," he says, "a generous soul only desires to

* Paradisus Puerorum, 504.

† Id. 500

‡ Eurip. Androm. 406.

§ Paradisus Puerorum, 148.

give its life. It asks of heaven and earth but for a great cause, to serve it with a great devotion; and if this be true of a soul which has only received its character from a happy nature, how much more will it be so of one in which faith and nature flow like two rivers, of which not a drop is wasted in the indulgence of vain passions *." The preceding examples would have warranted his assertion, even if more extended: for they show that even those whose cheeks were scarce covered with the first down, were inspired by the heroic spirit of this eighth beatitude, and often permitted to exercise it to the supreme degree, during those ages of superhuman grace when angels might find a helpmate in each dwelling of the human kind, and the Lord of angels his fitting messenger in a boy.

CHAPTER II.

OF manners, as of material edifices constructed in the middle ages, the foundations were very deep; so that, before deducing any examples of their operation from history, it is always necessary to spend much time in laying bare the principles from which they sprang. The study may be uninviting, but it is indispensable. "*Nam omnium magnarum artium,*" as Cicero says, "*sicut arborum, altitudo nos delectat; radices stirpesque non item: sed esse illa sine his non potest* †." Hence it still remains for us to consider other distinctions which were laid down to determine what were the essential marks or qualifications required from all who sought admittance within this eighth circle; for in all ages there have been many candidates whose claims, however supported within the pale of their own party, were by the Catholic church, and the one voice of the faithful upon earth, pronounced to be inadmissible.

Who has not heard of the pretended martyrologies which record the execution of men who would have suffered by the civil laws of every country for practising against the established government? Who has not heard

* Lacordaire, Vie de S. Dom.

† Orat.

of the political and religious enthusiasts in later times, who suffered death for having put their king to death, and who all esteemed themselves martyrs? "I did it all in the fear of the Lord," said one, "desiring to make the revealed will of God in his holy Scriptures as a guide to me." Another said, "I can say, in the presence of the Lord, that I did it in obedience to his laws." Another said, "As to the blood of the king, I have not any guilt lying upon me; for the Lord hath assured me that the thing was of God." Another said, "I die not in the Lord only, but for the Lord; I shall receive a glorious crown from Christ for this work." Another said, "I have done all in faith; I bless the Lord; I have not the hundredth part of a dram on my conscience." Another said, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down for the cause." Such were the English regicides; and where Catholic principles are unknown, society can never be secure from a recurrence of the same frightful delusion. It is not the low and ignorant alone that are liable to it. "Men, like sir Vane Tempest, may equally evince this most alarming of all spectacles," as a Cambridge professor styles it, "this feebleness of human reason to withstand such impulses." But while the voice of the Church was heard and recognised, none could be thus deluded to their ruin. Let us observe the principles which were then universally admitted.

"Causa non pœna martyrem facit," says St. Augustin; conformably to which distinction St. Ambrose says, "Affectus tuus operi tuo nomen imponit."

"Many heretics," says St. Augustin in a passage which occurs in the office of the Octave of All Saints, "under the Christian name, deceiving their souls, suffer many things;

———— sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem ———— •.

they are excluded from this reward, because it is not said only, *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur*; but it is added, *propter justitiam*: but where there is not sound faith there cannot be justice, because *justus ex fide vivit*: nor can schismatics promise to themselves any part of this reward, because similarly where there is not charity there cannot be justice; for if they had love

• Juv.

they would not tear the body of Christ, which is the Church. Such men," he continues, "may suffer in pursuance of the order of earthly princes; but let them not extol themselves, or say, 'Behold the Psalm consoles me; for I worship God, who will avenge those who suffer injury.' But is it for justice that they suffer? Is it justice to erect an altar of rebellion? is it justice to rend the Church? to divide the garment of Christ? I will not flatter them. If this be what they do, whatever they may suffer will be a just punishment; for it is the Church which suffers injury, and it is they who are the real persecutors by causing scandals, by evil persuasions and frauds, enticing the weak from her bosom, by killing in them that by which they would have lived for ever*."

Further, it was necessary that the cause should be distinct from that which implied confidence in man. "The heart was not to be in a man," as St. Augustine says, "nor hope in a man, ashes in ashes†." "You said that all who love me tell me not to lean upon the mind of my lord of Rochester alone; and verily, daughter," continues sir Thomas More, "no more I do. For albeit, of very truth I have him in that reverend estimation, that I reckon in this realm no one man, in wisdom, learning, and long approved virtue, meet to be matched with him; yet, in this matter, I was not led by him, and verily, daughter, I never intended to pin my soul to another man's back, not even the best man that I know this day living, for I know not whither he may happen to carry it." The cause was to be clearly just, and the obligation indispensable. "I have twice answered you," said sir Thomas to his daughter, "that if it were possible for me to content the king's grace and not offend God, there hath no man taken this oath already more gladly than I would do. But since, standing my conscience, I can in no wise do it; and that, for instructing my conscience in this matter, I have not slightly considered, but many years advised and studied, and never yet could see nor hear the thing, nor, I think, ever shall, that could induce my mind to think otherwise, I have no manner of remedy: God hath placed me in this strait, that either I must deadly displease Him, or abide any worldly harm that, for any other sins, He shall, under the name of this thing,

* In Ps. cxlv.

† In Ps. xciii.

suffer to fall upon me. I meddle not, you wot well, with the conscience of any man that hath sworn; nor do I take upon me to be their judge. But you must pardon me for concluding that the passing of my soul to heaven passeth all good company; and my own conscience in this matter is such as may well stand with mine own salvation; thereof am I as sure as there is a God in heaven!" He might be sure, who had an infallible guide.

As a general rule, it was understood that where any ambiguous element entered into the cause for which men suffered persecution, the title to beatitude was forfeited; and hence the primitive Christians said, with Lactantius, "*nos tantummodo laboremus, ut ab hominibus nihil aliud in nobis, nisi sola justitia puniatur* *." "It is very observable," says a modern historian, "that sir Thomas More, in steering his course through the intrigues and passions of the court, most warily retired from every opposition but that which conscience absolutely required: he shunned unnecessary disobedience as much as unconscientious compliance. If he had been influenced solely by prudential considerations, he could not have more cautiously shunned every needless opposition †." The same observation may be made respecting St. Thomas of Canterbury, and generally all the confessors and martyrs of God, "who," as St. Augustin says, "imitated the Lord in putting on beauty and fortitude, and so confirming the orb of the earth which shall not be moved. Thus our Lord, when He came in the flesh, pleased some and displeased others: for some said He is a good man, and others said No, but He deceives the people. Some praised, and others detracted, lacerated, devoured Him. To those whom He pleased He put on beauty; to those whom He displeased, fortitude. Imitate your Lord therefore," adds St. Augustin. "Be clothed with beauty to those whom your good works please, be strong against your detractors. Thus Paul had beauty and fortitude; for to whom he was an odour of life unto life, he put on beauty; to whom he was an odour of death unto death, fortitude. But if you rejoice when men praise, and are discouraged when they vituperate you, and think you have lost the fruit of your labour because you have reprehenders; you do not stand immovable; you do not pertain to that orb

* De Justitia.

† Sir J. Mackintosh.

of the earth, which shall not be moved. You must put on fortitude as well as beauty by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left, by glory and by shame, by possessing all things and having nothing; and thus clothed with beauty to those who see your glory and your riches, and with fortitude to those who think you in shame and destitution, you will belong to that orb which shall stand immovable for ever*."

Let us hear St. Bernardine of Sienna, "On this beatitude," saith he, "Christ gives us a triple doctrine—general, special, and particular—for three things make man a martyr,—the pain, the cause, and perseverance in the reward, which is the kingdom of heaven. There is a triple justice, on account of which the just man suffers persecution,—the justice of faith, that of morality, and that of charity: for the first suffered the martyrs of the early church; for the second, Christians daily suffer in the discharge of the active duties of life; the third, of charity, is that patience which hath a perfect work, when, through love of God and man, no virtue is allowed to relax, but we persevere in every act and word and thought of justice in spite of all oppositions and trials. Persecution is not to be expected only in corporal relations; for it is a persecution when the just suffer from dissimilar manners and contradictions of men; for he suffers when he sees God dishonoured and his Church persecuted, and vice practised, and justice outraged; and of this the Psalmist says, *Vidi prævaricantes, et tabescebam, quia eloquia tua non custodierunt*. Secondly, our Lord gives us a special doctrine, for, in the preceding beatitudes, having spoken in the third person, in the explanation of the eighth beatitude He turns his discourse to his disciples, and says, *Beati estis*; which He did perhaps to show the great difficulty, which required more persuasion, or as speaking to the perfect, who were to go forth as lambs amidst wolves; these He exhorts to endure a triple suffering,—malediction, corporal persecution, and detraction. Finally, He gives us a particular doctrine, adding, *Mentientes propter me* †."

Before we enter on the ground which constitutes the proper domain of those who enjoy a title to this beatitude, it will be necessary to observe that, in the judg-

* In Ps. xcii.

† St. Bernard, *Sien. Serm.* xlii.

ment of the middle ages, those who suffered with the Christian spirit for any cause of natural justice, were to inherit the religious recompense held out by faith. The king St. Edmond, thus defending his people, and being defeated by the barbarous Danes, and refusing to purchase his life from them by agreeing to propositions which were contrary to religion and opposed to the duty which he owed his people, was canonized among those who shed their blood for Christ.

"I die my country's martyr, and ascend
Rich in my scarlet robe of blood; my name
Shall stain no chronicle, and my tomb be blest
With such a garland time shall never wither *."

The king St. Edwin, having been slain in the great battle at Hatfield in Yorkshire, was styled a martyr for the reason that it was on account of his being a Christian and zealous to propagate religion among his people, that he was attacked by Penda the Mercian, aided by Cadwallo, king of the Welsh.

Whoever, after living holily, perished by an unjust and violent death, was also considered as a martyr. St. Winefrede refusing the advances of Caradoc, and being murdered by him, is thus qualified in all calendars. The only event commemorated of the year 860 in the chronicle of Quedlinburg—"Meinrod the hermit martyred," is another instance, as his death was not suffered expressly for the faith.

Trifine, daughter of Guerch, of whom St. Gildas was director, having been barbarously murdered, along with her child, by her husband count Conomor, lieutenant of Childebart, both the mother and child were invoked as martyrs in Brittany, and in the English litanies of the seventh century.

St. Sigismond, king of Burgundy, being defeated in battle by Clodomir of Orleans, Childebart of Paris, and Clotaire of Soissons, and being murdered in prison along with his wife and children, by Clodomir, was likewise honoured as a martyr, as was similarly St. Evermer, a nobleman assassinated in a forest near Tongres, while making a pilgrimage with some companions.

St. Ethelbert, king of the East Saxons, murdered

* Shirley.

through a motive of political ambition, by Quendreda, the queen of Mercia, was another example.

As we before remarked, all children that met with a violent death were deemed martyrs; and truly, in this judgment, we must discern another proof of the depth and tenderness of thought which belonged to men in the middle ages: for it was a divine wisdom, and a divine goodness to behold the sufferings of children thus with the eyes of God, as a mystery of innocence in pain.

Death incurred in the discharge of any duty of charity was formally equivalent to martyrdom. Thus, speaking of the Christians who died from the infection caught in attending the sick during the great pestilence in Alexandria in the third century, St. Dionysius says, "Thus the best of our brethren have departed this life, priests, deacons, and laics; and it is thought that this kind of death is in nothing different from martyrdom." In fact, the Church, as appears from the Roman martyrology, which celebrates their festival on the twenty-eighth of February, considered them as martyrs.

Fidelity to the lawful prince seems to have been considered also as a cause which merited for men the praise of martyrs, when they suffered for maintaining it. St. Leger furnished a memorable example in the seventh century. Exposed to the fury of Ebroin, name so terrible as a persecutor of the saints, having, on the return of his sovereign Dagobert, son of Sigebert, resumed the government of the see of Autun, he delivered himself up to the enemy, in order to spare the citizens, who were besieged on his account. Without a sigh he endured the putting out of his eyes rather than renounce fidelity to his prince; then he was dragged into a forest, where his lips and a part of his tongue were cut off; afterwards, having been deposed by a mock synod of suspended priests, he was led into the depth of the forest of Iveline in the diocese of Arras, that his death might be concealed; and there he was beheaded, leaving his name to that forest, which is called after him to this day.

Again, those who suffered persecution for wisdom and fortitude, in the government of states, were regarded as entitled to the promise of this beatitude, although their names might not be formally canonized by the Church.

It was the saying of an ancient philosopher, who recommended his disciples to refrain from all part in public

affairs, that if we act virtuously we shall incense men; if unjustly, Heaven. To one who said, "Many praise you," Antisthenes replied, *τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα*; "No man can be safe," says Socrates, "if he honestly opposes you, O Athenians! or any other people in prohibiting the many unjust and unlawful deeds which take place in the state*." The Grecian poet represents a king duly impressed with this conviction; for Agamemnon in the Hecuba of Euripides is willing to discharge his duty, provided he can first ascertain whether he can do so without incurring blame from the people, as, in that event, he declares that he could not do it. If the people wish it, he desires Hecuba to consider him as *ταχὲν προσ-αρκίσειαι, βραδὺν δ', Ἀχαιοῖς εἰ διαβληθήσομαι*, which draws from her a burst of eloquent indignation:

φεῦ, οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν, ὅστις· ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος·
 ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἢ τύχης,
 ἢ πλῆθος αὐτὸν πόλιος, ἢ νόμων γράφαι
 εἰργουσι χρῆσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τρέποις.

Such were not the saintly kings and noblemen of the ages of faith, whose maxim was that of Antisthenes: *Βασιλικὸν, καλῶς ποιῶντα, κακῶς ἀκούειν*, and whose principle of action entitles them to that highest praise imagined by the philosopher, "Ea enim denique virtus esse videtur præstantis viri," says Cicero, "quæ est fructuosa aliis, ipsi autem laboriosa aut periculosa, aut certe gratuita†." For their sense of all dignity and rule was expressed in these old Benedictine lines, which had been impressed on them in the abbeyes where they had spent their youth:

"Si honorem, non laborem,
 Quæris, frustra niteris:
 Si præeasse, non prodesse,
 Studes, nihil efficis."

Such was the state policy of Charlemagne and St. Louis, of the Henrys and the Othos, who were such mighty marshals of the world. "In every affair, as St. Bernard recommends, "they considered it a certain argument to put an end to doubts, that whatever course was pleasing to good, and displeasing to evil men ought to be pur-

* Apolog.

† De Oratore, ii. 85.

sued *." "Insensible," as Michaud says, "to whatever concerned merely themselves, they were raised above all fear and every human consideration, when it was a question which interested religion, and the happiness of the people. Dante saw storied in a rock one of these in the very act which merited such praise: "There was an emperor. A widow at his bridle stood in tears. Round about them troop'd full throng of knights; and overhead in gold the eagles floated struggling with the wind. The wretch appeared amid all these to say, 'Grant justice, sire! for, woe beshrew this heart, my son is murdered.' He replying seemed, Wait now till I return; and she, as one made hasty by her grief, 'O, sire! if thou dost not return?' He replies, 'Who then succeeds may right thee.' 'But what then to thee,' she asks, 'is others' virtue?' 'Now comfort thee,' at length he answers, 'it beseemeth well my duty be performed, ere I move hence: so justice wills, and pity bids me stay †.'"

Kings whom the Catholic religion swayed, had not heard the lessons of the sophist, who styled the people "that power which alone had no need of reason to authorize its acts ‡." They remembered, that Saul, excusing himself for not having obeyed God, by alleging the will of the people, Samuel declared that God had rejected him; and that Saul said, "I have sinned in having disobeyed the Lord and thee, from fearing the people, and yielding to their discourse. Because," adds Bossuet, "it is to be the enemy of God, and even of the people, not to resist when the people wishes and commits evil §." They did not, therefore, seek to avoid obloquy by saying that they were ready to bow down to the majesty of the people, and that a nation should be governed by all that has tongue in the nation; for they observed, that if Moses, when he returned from the mount and found the people adoring the golden calf, and when Joshua heard the sound of the people shouting, had bowed down to the majesty of the people, he would have had to bow down also to the majesty of the calf. But that, on the contrary, he said aloud, "If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me"—when all the sons of

* St. Bern. Epist. cccxlviii.

† Purg. x.

‡ Ap. Bossuet, Avertissements aux Protestans, v. 49.

§ Polit. liv. iv. c. 1.

Levi gathered themselves together unto him, by whose hands incontinent on the majesty of the people shame and destruction fell. Such obligations, no doubt, involved rulers in many sufferings and dangers, but they accepted them as the inseparable attendants on their station; for they had not adopted that policy of the just medium, as it is styled, which shrinks from nothing but persecution for justice, following such counsels as Pothinus gave to Ptolemy, when he proposed to kill Pompey, adding,

"Sceptrorum vis tota perit, si pendere justa
Incipit; evertitque arces respectus honesti *."

"You will never be happy," said Petrarch, "never secure, if you give yourself up to be governed by the people †." Nevertheless, in reality, these high principles of action, grounded on the knowledge that justice elevates a nation, and that sin makes a people miserable ‡, were a fruitful source of persecution to just and honourable princes, even during the ages of that highest justice which results from the predominance of faith. The histories of the middle ages are here to furnish glorious examples of kings exposing themselves to perils and to death rather than swerve in the least circumstance from the maintenance of justice. How many sufferings must have resulted from practising that resolution, expressed by Louis XII., when he said that to shelter the weak from the injustice of the powerful was the most urgent desire of his heart? St. Stephen, king of Hungary, had a narrow escape from losing his life by the conspiracy of four palatines, who were irritated against him on account of the strictness with which he administered justice without distinction of persons. "'Tis time your prince were dead;" such are the complaints we often find, in consequence of this fidelity, "and when I am

"Companion to my father's dust, these tumults
Fomented by seditious men, that are
Weary of plenty, and delights of peace,
Shall not approach to interrupt the calm
Good princes after death enjoy §."

"The empress Agnes governed the duchy of Bavaria

* Lucan, viii.

† Epist. Fam. ii. 4.

‡ Prov. xiv. 34.

§ Shirley.

during seven years in abundant peace. But, because dissensions ensued in the kingdom, perturbations in the church, destructions of monasteries, and the trampling down of all justice and religion, that noble woman, considering the disturbance of things, disgusted, or rather divinely smitten, abdicated the government in the year 1069, and for the love of Christ retired to the monastery of Frutera, where she embraced a religious life, and finally removed to Rome*." That disturbance of the political and religious order constituted her persecution.

But, in the earliest and latest times, it was, above all, fidelity to religion which proved to rulers the most abundant source of honourable grief. A modern historian†, after mentioning the proposal of William of Holland to king James II., that his son should succeed to the throne of England on being educated as a Protestant, proceeds to say, "The same folly about religion, which made James lose his throne, lost the reversion of it to his son; for he refused the offer under pretence that his accepting of it would be an acknowledgment of his own abdication, but, in reality, because he would not permit the prince to be bred a Protestant." If this statement be correct, there can be no difficulty in admitting the claim of James to be received into the eighth circle of the blessed throng.

The mother of St. Wenceslas, the son of Uratislas, duke of Bohemia, was Drahomeia, a pagan. His grandmother Ludmilla, obtained as a great favour, that his education might be entrusted to her, and she formed his heart to devotion and the love of God: but the pagan mother retained her younger son Boleslas, whose mind she corrupted by her errors. The father dying while both were young, Wenceslas assumed the reins of government; and then the pagan mother conceiving that Ludmilla was the primary agent of all that he did for the advancement of religion, laid a plot to take away her life, and succeeded in having her strangled before the altar in her own chapel. The severity with which St. Wenceslas checked oppressions and other disorders in the nobility, caused some to join the faction of his unna-

* Petz, tom. iii. Thesaur. Anecd. p. iii. p. 188.

† Sir J. Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 5.

tural mother, who conspired with her other son Boleslas to take his life. A son being born to Boleslas, the holy duke was invited to the rejoicings on that occasion, and he went without suspicions. After the banquet, at midnight, he went to offer his customary prayers in the church, whither Boleslas followed him, and there with his own hand he slew him, running him through the body with a lance. This was on the twenty-eighth of September in 938.

St. Canut, king of Denmark, in the eleventh century, father of St. Charles the Good, count of Flanders, was another martyr in consequence of this holy zeal. On the shrine found at Odensee in 1582, which contained the body, were these words inscribed: "In the year of Christ, 1086, in the town of Odensee, the glorious king Canut, betrayed like Jesus Christ, on account of his zeal for religion and his love of justice, by Blancon, one of those who eat at his table, after confession and communion of the Lord's body, had his side pierced, and fell to the ground before the altar, with his arms extended in the form of a cross. He died for the glory of Jesus Christ, and reposed in him on Friday, the seventh of June, in the basilica of St. Alban, martyr, whose relics he had a short time before brought from England into Denmark."

His son Charles the Good, count of Flanders, whose mother was Alize of Flanders, was martyred, as we observed in a former book, for defending the interests of the poor. So tenderly he loved the people, that he kept the price of corn low, and enacted wise laws against the oppressions of the great; for which reason he was assassinated by order of one of them, named Bertoul, as he repeated the penitential psalms in the church of Bruges, in 1124.

In the chronicles of the middle ages, we find instances too in which the absence of ambition, and the resolution to relinquish an unjust pretension, to which they were impelled by others, have caused princes to suffer persecution, reviving the example of the Greeks, despising Solon when many laughed at him, as Plutarch witnesseth, and said,

*Οὐκ ἔφν Σολῶν βαθύφρων, οὐδε βουλευεῖς ἀνὴρ
"Ἐσέλα γὰρ Θεοῦ δίκοντος, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐτίξατο.*

St. Casimir, prince of Poland, in his fifteenth year, being elected king of Hungary by the Palatines and other nobles who wished to depose Matthias Corvinus, in order that he might rule over them, hearing that the king had refused to comply, and that all differences were accommodated between him and his people, and that pope Sixtus had sent an embassy to his father to divert him from the expedition which had already set out, returned joyfully with his army. But this act of disinterestedness and justice was so disagreeable to his father, that he dreaded to appear before him, and so retired to the castle of Dobzki, where he spent three months in works of penance. Repeatedly during the course of the preceding books, we have had occasion to admire the dignity and justice of the ministerial character during those ages of faith, which never heard the modern error, "that all goes by self-interest, and the checking and balancing of greedy knaveries, and that in short there is nothing divine whatever in the association of men." What noble figures of this class have passed before us! wise magistrates, such as Candelarius and L'Hermite Souliers loved to paint*, wise courtiers, those jewels of a crown, as Shirley calls them,

"The columns and the ornaments of state
Fitted with parts, and piety to act,
They serve the power for justice, not themselves;
Their faith the cabinet, in which is laid
The prince's safety, and the nation's peace,
The oracles and the mysteries of empire;
Men born above the sordid guilt of avarice,
Free as the mountain air, and calm as mercy.
Born without eyes, when the poor man complains
Against the great oppressor; without hands,
To take the bloody price of man's undoing†."

Defenders of the Church, of women and widows, of the rights of the king and of the subject, sworn by the redemption which they expected from our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment, as they hoped to escape

* *Virorum Consularium Rothomag. Senat. libri iv. Les Eloges de tous les premiers Présidents du Parlement de Paris, 1645.*

† *Honoris et Mammon.*

damnation and to be judged as they would judge, to administer their office with loyalty and honour *, their whole lives grave, pure, mysterious, corresponded with that solemn engagement. Piety, austere virtue, profound learning, the administration of justice from break of day to sunset, afterwards study and examination of causes in the silence of their humble and pacific dwellings, then some moments to the historians, orators, and poets, who had been the delight of their youth,—often to hold courts in other districts, leaving their homes and travelling, and all at their own expense, actuated by the sentiment of duty—such was the type, and such in innumerable instances the spectacle. Well such men, often martyrs of the state, as some were called by Henry the Fourth †, swell the blessed throng of those who suffered persecution for the sake of justice, a prize for which they must have been well prepared: for, as the old poet says,

“ What man was ever fix'd i' the sphere of honour
And precious to his sovereign, whose actions,
Nay very soul, were not exposed to every
Common and base dissection? and not only
That which in nature hath excuse, and in
Themselves is privileged by name of frailty,
But even virtues are made crimes, and doom'd
To the fate of treason.”

In the solemn halls of assembly, these magistrates and senators had before their eyes paintings and inscriptions to inform and thus prepare their minds. One beheld martyrs of the ancient and of the evangelic law, kings and pontiff ministers mutually exhorting each other to virtue; “ Pontifices, agite,” the monarch saying; “ Et vos, reges, dicite justa,” the priest answering: both holding scrolls, on which were written, “ Facite judicium et justitiam, et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumpniatoris;” and again, “ Seminanti justitiam merces fidelis ‡.” But what was this infallible recompense? The crown of the eighth beatitude. How often when the demon of discord had armed citizens against each other, has this crown been granted! Then when the sun has set, and all

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 271.

† Pasquier, Lett. xx. 3.

‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 398.

the ways are darkened, there is in the street a sound of horses and of arms: the leader has a stern commission: all windows are opened with a fearful whispering. Alas! who is to be the victim now? They halt. There is the devoted door. O God, it is the house of the just!

In regard to the brave defence of innocence against oppressors generally, whether kings or people, we should notice the heroic spirit of martyrdom which belonged to the judicial and legal character in ages of faith. The clergy, it is true, in early times, had generally to sustain such combats; and what undaunted advocates were they? With what noble courage did St. Gregory of Tours defend *Prætextatus* in presence of king Chilperic? And what alacrity did he evince to suffer all things for justice*? Afterwards the sage men of law, as Pierre des Fontaines styles them, though devoted to administer it, were not

" Chargés d'une haine étrangère,
Vendre aux querelles du vulgaire
Leur voix et leur tranquillité."

They were rather peacemakers, to finish causes by amicable arrangement, and to expose themselves to the resentment of the powerful by defending the oppressed. The decrees of the ancient exchequer seem rather the judgments of a family council, than decisions of a court †, and the noble courage of its counsellors frequently brought persecution on their heads. They were sworn, as we observed elsewhere, not to defend any causes which they did not believe in their consciences to be good, true, and loyal; to abandon such as they should find in the course of investigation to be unjust, and never to allege any custom, style, or usage, if they did not believe the objection reasonable and true ‡. Among the dangers to which they exposed themselves in the discharge of their duty, historians even remark their occasional collisions with the ruffian, the robber, and the man of blood, meeting them before light on winter's mornings as they rode on mules to the courts of justice §

* *Chroniques de S. Denis*, liv. iii. c. 8.

† Floquet, *Hist. du Parlement de Norm.* i. 27.

‡ *Id.* i. 57.

§ *Id.* ii. 211.

The old registers attest that many while thus proceeding to discharge their office, were insulted, struck, and even slain. In times of greatest peril for them, their only concession was to wait till after sunrise, and to return from the tribunals before the ways were darkened. But danger and death for the manifest discharge of their office they would never decline. Would you witness an instance of this martyr spirit in an advocate of later times? Behold Chauveau Lagarde, defending Marie Antoinette, Elizabeth, and Charlotte de Corday, denouncing Marat in presence of the tigers of the revolutionary tribunal, as a monster, who saw crime every where, because crime accompanied him every where—resolving to die in thus combating, defending the Girondins, the Duke du Chatelet, the virgins of Verdun, the twenty-seven accused of Tonnerre, and the general Miranda: behold him thus defying danger for innocence, and when he could no longer hope for justice amidst that fearful butchery of illustrious victims, remaining to protest against such violations in the name of the judicial honour of his country. Accused of corrupting the public morals by proclaiming the virtue of these martyrs, and of betraying the people by defending their enemies, behold him during forty days in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, from which he saw pass to death twenty-three victims, his companions in that hell. Amidst these scenes, how great was his courage, how undaunted his magnanimity! Such was the type of the true Catholic advocate in ages of faith: “the law,” said this great ornament of the French bar, speaking like Sir Thomas More, “imposes on advocates a duty of devotion, and, when necessary, the duty of martyrdom.”

“Do well, and beware,” is the melancholy proverb of the profound Spaniards, which Don Diego Savedra Faxardo ascribes, in his Christian Prince, to the experience of mankind, and also to the remembrance of that divine charge of our Saviour, when he told his disciples to go forth to the work of love, with the simplicity of the dove, and added “*Cavete autem ab hominibus.*” It would be long to tell of those who verified the truth of this caveat in themselves. The fate of the great Boethius was a familiar theme during the middle ages. The sudden change in his fortune arose from his con-

demning the excessive taxes imposed on the people by Theodoric, who in his old age gave his confidence to two avaricious and perfidious Goths. He undertook to convey to the foot of the throne the tears and groans of the provinces, and his discourse was regarded by the king as an act of rebellion. Banished by a decree of the senate, who were gained over to pronounce it, he was soon after thrown into prison, in the castle of Pavia, along with his father-in-law Symmachus: the latter was beheaded on a groundless pretext of high treason. The following year beheld the martyrdom of Boethius, who was conveyed to a castle in a desert, half-way between Pavia and Rome, and there barbarously tortured till he expired. "*Imperante florentequa nequitia,*" said this noble sufferer in his prison, "*virtus non solum præmiis caret, verum etiam sceleratorum pedibus subjecta calcatur, et in locum facinorum supplicia luit.*" "Under the dominion of our private interests," says the great chancellor D'Aguessau, "we cannot believe that there are souls so generous as to study the interests of the public: we fear to find in others a greatness which we do not discover in ourselves. Its presence would be a continual reproach that would offend the proud delicacy of our self-love; and convinced that there are only false virtues, we never think of honouring those that are true. Great men are therefore not understood by the common herd; they are either unobserved, or else regarded with fear and displeasure." To how many examples might he have referred in the history of his own country alone! What was it but private malice on account of his virtues, which caused the tragical death of Marigni, the inspector of finances under Louis X.? How many noble stands for justice in the secret cabinets of kings, of which history only by chance drops an intimation! Hear an ancient chronicle.

"On the fifth of November this year, the justiciary came to the emperor Frederic II. bearing seven hundred ounces of gold, as the result of the contribution, but the emperor was very angry at not receiving a greater sum. The justiciary then said, 'My lord, if my ministry doth not please you, seek in future some one else; for the citizens are reduced to poverty.' The emperor grew still more furious, and turning to Taddæus said, 'If it were

not for sake of Don John, I would order him to be thrown into the sea *.' ”

Guided by a contemporary writer, let us visit one of these great men in his prison, where he is suffering persecution on account of the justice of his administration. “ When I arrived,” says Paschasius, “ I found the abbot Wala in the prison cell, where nothing could have access but what was angelic, for such was the divine judgment. After mingling sweet with bitter words, I wished to persuade him to admit that he had exceeded a little, in order that he might appease the emperor, by admitting that he had gone too far ; for Cæsar had intimated that he would restore him to his favour, if he would only admit himself in the wrong : but he replied to me, ‘ I am surprised that you should doubt my conscience, since I am conscious to myself of nothing more than what you know. You ought, therefore, rather to encourage me to contend for justice, than endeavour to persuade me to assent to anything contrary to truth. Do you not fear the judgments of God ? What if I should falsely accuse myself of any thing, and for the sake of any favour or honour, either through fear or hope, were to depart from truth, and bear false witness against myself, might I not fall into the hands of God, and by his just judgment be condemned out of my own mouth ? and thus, through fear of increasing the light afflictions that are for a time, I might, by an ineffable dispensation of his judgment, suffer the penalty of eternal death. Therefore, my brother, let us stand in the way of truth on which we have entered, and let us have hope, because these things further us to everlasting life, which is Christ.’ Having heard these words, I was silent and confused. It was plain that there was in him no conscience, excepting according to God and for God, respecting the emperor and his sons, his country and the churches, the nobility and the people ; that he sought not his own in any thing, but only what was Christ’s. It was plain that he was of the blessed, who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, for he endeavoured to save both the emperor and his country : he

* Matth. Spinelli Ephemerides Neapolitanæ ab an. 1247 ad an. 1268. ap. Mur. Rer. It. tom. vii.

drove all abominations from the palace of the sacred empire; he put adultery to flight; he condemned sortilege; he restored what was honest; he gave back a father to his sons, and sons to their father; he did not permit the monarchy to fall into parts; he forbade oaths to be violated: he wished to preserve what was good, and to remove the evil, that all might lead a safe and tranquil life according to God, to the honour and glory of the Christian religion. It is said by some, that he ought not to have taken thought about these things, which did not suit the employment of a monk; but no monk was ever greater or holier than John, who was beheaded for such things; no one more accepted than Elias; no one more religious than the other saints and prophets, who manfully withstood kings, and contended for justice unto death: for on account of such zeal was Zacharias slain, and Isaias sawed asunder, and Jeremiah immersed in the waters, and so was it also right that he should expose himself to pain, if not by resisting with arms, at least by exhortation, and counsel, and entreaties."

On a certain day, when the magnats and counsellors were at secret deliberation respecting the division of the empire, not regarding the prerogative of parents, or the coequalities of the great, or the interests of the faithful, or, what is more, the dignity of the churches, or the reverence of God from the heart, the abbot Wala suddenly appeared among them; and they, confused, because condemned by their own consciences, proposed to him the lots of distribution, and asked if there were any thing that displeased him. Then he, as sagacious in reply, made answer, "All things are well disposed by you, excepting that you have left nothing to God of his right, and have not ordained what is pleasing to the virtuous*."

Doubtless too were reckoned among those who suffered on account of justice, some whom civil or domestic troubles sent into banishment, to learn "how bitter is the stranger's bread, how hard it is to mount and to descend another's stairs†." Those sorrows and humiliations so keenly felt by Dante, when, for having wished to render service to his country, he was misinterpreted by his fellow-citizens, unjustly accused of an ignoble crime, deprived of his writings, and persecuted for having com-

* Ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Ben.

† Par. xvii.

posed them, cast forth in poverty from the cherished bosom of that beauteous Florence in which he had been born and nourished, and where he desired so ardently to terminate his days. "It is certain," says his commentator Balbo, "that in heaven He, who from the beginning of the world has imposed labour upon man, and willed that each should cultivate his talent, will grant a more especial mercy to those who support the burden of the day, to obey his divine commands, and render service of any description to their country." Among those Guelfs so often driven from their home with cruelty, as were the poet's ancestors, what solemn examples do we find of high virtue! Italy, which furnishes so complete a history of the woe of banishment, presenting a series of examples of magnanimity in suffering a punishment which, above all, for its children, who knew what it was to be excluded from its charms, was felt more cruel than death *, might supply us with abundant proof that exile, while it gave occasion to some, as the noble Malaspinas, to exercise a generous and an immortal pity, enabled others to gain their true country, and to secure the faultless peace. There might again have been another class of sufferers within this order, to whom, in consideration of their calamities, religion would have offered her palm; for had those illustrious philosophers, whom later ages qualify as the martyrs of science, suffered persecution with the requisite dispositions, purely on account of their physical discoveries, and of their announcing them to the world, there is no doubt that the Catholic church would have sanctioned their admission into this category; but men like Galileo, whom her pontiffs, princes, cardinals, and prelates honoured, who received from the states which she directed such proofs of large munificence; who however evinced recklessness, arrogance, and ingratitude, insisting in a tone of defiance on modes of interpreting the Scriptures, from which Protestants, as Tycho Brahe, as well as Catholics, then shrunk; unlike Newton, who preferred peace to any shadow of greatness, panting for a struggle with those who sought not to oppose them on account of their discoveries; who in their writings adopted the tone of enemies and satirists; who, like Kepler, admit that they were "troublesome and choler-

* Artaud de Montor, *Hist. de Dante*.

in politics," and who notwithstanding, as Remus assured the latter, "had no ground for alarm either in Italy or Austria, if they kept themselves within bounds, and put a guard upon their own passions," can hardly be said to have fulfilled the conditions that were necessary to entitle them to a place in this blessed circle. In ages when every claim to martyrdom in a religious sense was investigated with such rigour, men could not expect to be regarded as martyrs of science, unless analogous dispositions existed in them also; and indeed the justice of requiring them, in respect to this latter, is admitted by the illustrious philosopher who has lately treated on their history, while acknowledging that religion, guided by the Roman pontiffs, was not jealous of philosophy, and that the church of Rome was willing to respect and foster even the genius of its enemies. Had Galileo meekly announced his discoveries as the deductions of reason or the convictions of conscience, they would not have provoked hostility, and his system of the world might have stood in the library of the Vatican beside the cherished volume of Copernicus*. Whoever by superior merit alone incurred sufferings from the malignity of rivals, or even from the severity of a zeal to guard against dangers, which was more rigorous than enlightened, might have enjoyed the consoling assurance that of the truths of science which he defended, he was the martyr, deriving from his endurance of persecution not alone a claim to the sympathy of philosophers, but also a title to the especial benediction of God in the judgment of the church, and of all who were directed by her wisdom.

But it was not alone the heroic fortitude of great men in resisting injustice, which in the judgment of the middle ages conferred a title to the beatitude of those who suffer persecution within the natural order. If our ancestors were inexorable in excluding all from that blessed number who were deficient either in regard to the justice of their cause or to the spirit with which they received sufferings, they evinced a disposition to extend prodigiously the limits within which occasions could be found of reaping these immortal fruits; in so much that to men of good will opportunity for gaining them, according to their view of human life, could hardly ever be wanting; that, as

* Sir David Brewster—the Martyrs of Science.

in the gymnastic combats, to use the words of St. Clement of Alexandria, "so in the church there might be crowns both for men and boys; for those that are men in wisdom and fortitude, and for those that are children in faith and love *." Indeed, the word persecution, from attending to the analogous disposition of sufferers, acquired an extension almost indefinite. The vessel on which Joinville was on board being in danger, a priest, the dean of Malrut, advised a procession, adding, that "whenever there was a persecution in his parish, whether by too little or too much rain, or other persecution, three such processions were made, and always with success, God sending them deliverance †." St. Louis also, conversing with the seneschal, speaks of tribulations and great maladies as persecutions sent for the good of men.

"It is not our blood that God requires," says St. Cyprian, "but our faith. Neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were compelled to shed their blood, and yet their faith entitled them to be placed in the rank of the first patriarchs †." So St. Peter Damien observes: "*Si non vales pro Deo mortem subire, vales tamen vitam placabilem Deo ducere: magnum quippe est mori pro Christo, sed non est inferius vivere Christo.*" Accordingly the life of Catholics, under many ordinary circumstances, was deemed, if not equivalent to martyrdom, at least subject to the persecution which confers a title to beatitude. In the first place, an obscure humble patient life for many souls was regarded in this light. "O how easy it is to be a Catholic," observes Fenelon, "on condition that one is to be a philosopher, a master, courageous, great, and eminent in every thing! but to be a Catholic, and only one of the fanatic poor, as they are called by those who revile the Church, to be weak, mean, and half-mad in the estimation of the proud,—that is a prospect which cannot be thought on by some persons without horror §."

"Multi pro Christo optant mori, qui pro Christo nolunt levia verba pati," says St. Bonaventura; "*sed quem terret sonitus folii, quomodo sustineret ictum gladii?*" "Calumny disturbs the wise man," says the Book of God, "and takes away the strength of his heart ||." It involves

* Stromat. lib. vii. c. 11.

† Hist. de S. Louis.

‡ On the Necessity of Dying.

§ Entretiens.

|| Eccles. vii.

him in such a battle of thoughts, that the Royal Prophet cried, "O Lord, deliver me from the calumnies of men, that I may keep thy commandments *." "For it is not easy," adds St. Ambrose, "for him who is oppressed by calumny to observe faithfully the divine commandments: he yields as it were, in spite of himself, to a root of sadness and bitterness, and his soul is a prey to trouble †."

Now here, say the guides of the middle age, is an occasion offered to innumerable persons in the common walks of life, of deriving beatitude from the natural consequences of piety. Again, the sufferings of men from youth to old age, from a severity or a mistaken sense of duty, which refuses to make allowance for the wants of each age and position, were regarded as conveying a similar title. Catholics in ages of faith were taught to look at human life, under all its different circumstances, not with official eyes, nor with the exclusive gaze of any particular class, but with a view to its beauty and goodness in the eyes of the Creator; "*Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum; qui intelligit omnia opera eorum ‡.*" Consequently they beheld it as never losing beauty, but as only changing its form of loveliness from childhood through the successive stages of youth and manhood to old age. They were taught to discern the amiable and loving traits of nature, which bespeak the hand of the great artist in the child, the boy, the young man, and the old—to admire the virtues and graces which spring out of the relations between different degrees and the conditions of sex—the joy derived from self-devotion and the endurance of pain—the generous heroic sentiments which, from their connection with the body, can prove that there are still traces left of the original innocence in which it was created.

The philosophy of the middle ages would never have sanctioned the shallow thought of Pope, that "every year of a wise man's life is but a censure or critique on the past; that those whose date is the shortest live long enough to laugh at one half of it; that the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all §." Strange philosophers and strange Christians would such men have then been con-

* Ps. cxlii.

† In Ps. cxviii.

‡ Ps. xxxii.

§ Letter to the Bishop of Rochester.

sidered. Fathers were not then like those of whom Clitipho complains :

"Quam iniqui sunt patres in omnis adolescentis iudices!

Qui æquom esse censent nos jam a pueris ilico nasci senes *."

The paternal maxim and that of masters differed not from the advice of Juvenal :

"Indulge veniam pueris†."

Leave to play was justice, and to deny it to a poor apprentice or a rude ship-boy persecution. Mothers and mistresses of a family too were kind ; for how could they be otherwise who daily invoked her who is called in the Litany "most amiable;" who had ever before them pictures of that most sweet face which expresses all that we can conceive of suavity of disposition, gentleness of nature, and kindliness of manner?

We have seen in the last book that there were not wanting examples similar to that of Anaxagoras, who, as Laertius relates, being asked by the chief persons of Lampsacus whether he had not some desire which they might gratify, ordered them to give a play-day every year, on the anniversary of his death, to all young people.

In amusements pursued by the children of a town, against which in our days recurrence would be had to the police, in the middle ages the noblest and wisest men would deign to take a part. Juniperus, of whom St. Francis said playfully that "he wished to have a forest of such men," was found on one occasion without the gates of Rome, playing amidst a group of children, and seated on one end of a beam thrown across a wall, with a boy riding on the other, causing it to rise and sink alternately. It was not therefore so much that "each age had its manner of viewing things," but that each could appreciate or make allowance for the manner of the other; and as painters love to watch the play of light and shade upon the cheek, and all the gracious harmonies of colour and of form in each human figure as they pass it by, so men who had drunk deep of Catholic philosophy were pleased to trace the changing beauties of the moral world in the thousand innocent deeds, and words, and songs of all around them, whether denoting gladness, laughter,

* Heautont.

† Sat. viii.

pity, or amaze. That wisdom, be it remembered, did not desire to oppress matter which God has made, or forget the importance of reality. As it made an immense concession to the action of time by its principle of prescription, which ended in the consecration of all accomplished facts, so in the moral government of individuals it entered into the situation of each, proportioned its injunctions to his force, to his place and circumstance, and appreciated at its real value the contingent element. It did not withdraw men from the present scene so as to make them impossible. It had observed in the Gospel our Lord receiving the children, participating in the marriage feast, and weeping over Lazarus; the flesh, which indeed was to be submitted to a wise discipline, was one day to be glorified; and therefore even at present its just dignity was to be maintained in accordance with that which poetry, which is truth, prescribes. Matter therefore was only recalled to its primitive type, not persecuted as evil in itself essentially. Justice, which, as Albertus Magnus says, "is not a part but the whole of virtue *," was known to be conformity with the will of God: therefore whoever opposed his will, in regard to the happiness of his creatures, though it was only by fretting unnecessarily a boy, was deemed a true persecutor; and in enduring his severity it taught that there might be the beatitude of suffering for the sake of justice. All opposition to humanity, according to this view of it, was deemed a persecution for justice; it was a persecution of the child, of the boy, of the youth, of the man, and of the aged. Above all, indifference to the wants of the poor was deemed besides, in a peculiar manner, a persecution of our Lord in person, as is expressed in the Benedictine lines:

" Viatores extra fores ?
Christo claudis ostia :
Accedenti da gementi
Charitatis viscera."

Catholicism execrated the principles that would deprive the poor of the pleasures and refinements of existence fitting for youth, maturity, and age, in order to swell the receipts or widen the barrier desired by the grasping tribe of rich proprietors.

* Lib. Ethic. v. t. i. 4.

Those insulting distinctions, now so prevalent, founded on the repugnance of the rich to come in contact with the poor, even in the house of God, would have been regarded as a persecution in ages when leprosy itself wore a sacred character, so that the greatest personages sought to minister with their own hands to its afflicted victims; and in the same light would have been viewed all systems of relief which excluded indications of love and tenderness. The spirit of the ages of faith in this respect breaks forth in a charming manner in the remarks of Albertus Magnus upon a passage in the first chapter of Job, where he says, "By this text are confounded those who say that delicacies should not be given to the poor; for, though delicacies should not be continually given to them, lest they should be accustomed to them, yet it is cruel to say that delicacies should never be given to them, because wholly without delights human nature cannot live*." Therefore, alluding to the poorest hovel, was often heard in castles of the great, the gracious words of blessed Mary, "they have no wine;" for, in these castles, as in the convents of poor Clares might be found many who merited the title which Alexander IV. conferred upon their blessed founder, "The princess of the poor, and the duchess of the humble."

To this persecution then in general conduced false doctrines of religion like those of Manes and Calvin, the latter teaching that children guilty before the age of reason, need be only suspended on a gibbet for a moment, to show that they merit death†; among whose followers in France we read, as at the present day in Ireland, where "the powder for them is kept dry," "*que le tiers estat est estimé comme la fange des rues, le fumier des estables, et la poudre de leurs souliers,*" that the people were styled as they are still by those who follow that banner, "*la folle populace, le vulgaire ignorant‡.*" To this per-

* "At hoc loco confunduntur qui dicunt pauperibus non esse danda delicata; quamvis enim non sint eis delicata porrigenda continuo, ne consuescant; tamen crudele est dicere, quod nihil unquam delicati debeat porrigi pauperibus: quia sine deliciis omnimodis non potest vivere natura humana." Albert Mag. in Evang. Luc. c. xiv. tom. x.

† Audin, Hist. de Calvin, li. 123.

‡ 2e Advertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Cath. 122.

secution too conducted false notions of domestic rule ever breaking out in complaint and anger, false views of education, a mere sternness of nature and acerbity of temper, combining to enforce the maxim that no good can be done without stripes and bruises; false principles of administration of government, leading to the harsh enforcement of unjust laws, contrary to those charters desired by the Church and collected by Burchard, requiring "*ut una eademque lex diviti et pauperi ante oculos prænотата esset communis*," as that great bishop says—false views of social amelioration, and false views of political economy, like those of later times,—advocated by the well-fed philosophers, "whose meat and drink turn to gall within them," worthy of that German leader, who exclaimed, "For the peasants, straw, and if they murmur, a halter or a bullet *:" so that there might be those who suffered persecution for justice, as men from the doctrines taught around them, as children, servants, and apprentices from parents and masters, as scholars from their teachers, as subjects from their rulers, as the poor from the higher classes, and as artisans in manufactures from the slavery attached to the system of commercial feudality, according to which the master whose blood is ice, and whose heart is iron, says in the tone of Louis XIV., "*le but de l'ordre social c'est moi*." One need only open those collections of Burchard to see how paternal and benign was the tone adopted towards that rural society, which formed the family round each monastery, in which serfs were as eligible as freemen, though the civil laws of states often impeded their admission, and how every departure from it was regarded by the Church and by many holy proprietors of the middle age as a real persecution. How interesting to observe the Father of the scholastic philosophy exalting the dignity of the rural life, and preferring the rustic to the philosopher!

"*Rusticus es ; justus esto : beatus eris.*

Philosophus Varro, Petrus Piscator ; ei ecce

Philosophus cinis est ; nomen inane manet †."

"Religion," says Guizot, "spoke to the majority; she

* Audin, *Hist. de Luther*.

† *Carmen de contemptu mundi*.

never forgot the people ; she always knew how to arrive at them." Alluding to the Catholic religion he might well say so. To oppress them was to persecute her. That youth, in receiving severe treatment, without regard to its weakness, suffered persecution in reality for the sake of justice, is expressly taught by St. Anselm, and by innumerable great ornaments of the school. "The old monk who had treated Achatius with harshness, and who, on the death of that young man, obtained leave to build a cell near his tomb, spent there the remainder of his days in penitence, saying always, I have committed homicide*."

The maxims of the great St. Anthony indicate the same views—for thus he says, "*Fili mi, nulla major est impietas, quam mœrorem cuiquam inferre. Fili mi, omnes homines fac tibi amicos, sed non consiliarios. Do not lend your ears to hear evil, but be a lover of men and live. Pythagoras taught boys never to insult any one, and when reviled, to make no reply†.*"

This was much ; but the Catholic philosophy in ages of faith, taught servants and all persons either from age or station, under authority, that to endure harsh treatment with patience was equivalent to martyrdom.

An old Catholic poet represents the master conscious too that he has no right even to involve his servant in the painful consequences of his own peculiar temper, as where Sebastiano speaks as follows to a boy who seeks to be his page :

" 'Tis no advantage to belong to me.
 Besides, I shall afflict thy tenderness
 With solitude and passion : for I am
 Only in love with sorrow, never merry,
 Wear out the day in telling of sad tales ;
 Delight in sighs and tears ; sometimes I walk
 To a wood or river, purposely to challenge
 The boldest echo to send back my groans
 I' the height I break them. Come, I shall undo thee‡."

We have seen elsewhere, that servants in ages of faith were generally kept in good order, as those of Sir Thomas More, by the mere force of kindness and sweetness of

* S. Joan. Clim. iv.

† Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, 10.

‡ Shirley.

temper, rendering all as cheerful as if mirth were their employment, by persuading rather than commanding, by being familiar instead of being haughty, by treating them as members of the house, so as even to have them represented in pictures amidst the family group, as in that which Holbein has immortalized by his painting of Sir Thomas More's family, in which the servant, Harris, stands along with the son of the chancellor. But there were, of course, exceptions to this usage, and it is to these cases that we here allude.

St. Zita, a poor maiden of Italy, in the thirteenth century, is commemorated as suffering persecution with the spirit of a confessor, from the hardship and injustice of the master and mistress in whose family at Lucca she was a servant. Her fellow-servants ridiculed her as wanting spirit and sense. Her mistress was prepossessed against her; and her passionate master could not bear her in his sight without transports of rage. Thus, for several years unjustly despised, overburdened, reviled, and often beaten, the pious servant yet never repined, nor lost her patience, nor abated any thing of her application to her duties, till at length the lustre of her virtues began to be perceived, and from that time the remainder of her life was passed in uninterrupted peace and honour, being entrusted with authority over all the other servants.

St. Nothburge, the daughter of a labourer of Rothenbourg in the Tyrol, at the age of eighteen was placed as kitchen-maid in the castle of Rothenbourg. On the death of the seigneur's mother his avaricious wife persecuted and dismissed her from the service on a charge of waste; and though her innocence was recognised and she resumed her place, yet, in consideration of her gentleness under suffering, joined with the graces of sanctity, after her death in 1313, she was chosen by the Tyrolese as one of their patrons, and a magnificent church was dedicated under her invocation.

Similarly in all domestic relations, the endurance of severity was deemed equivalent to persecution for justice, of which the popular history of Griselda furnished an example at which all had often wept. St. Godeliebe was the same sufferer in real life, whose long persecutions by her husband Berton, described by his contemporary, Drogon, a monk of Ghistel, were terminated in 1070,

when she was strangled during the night by two assassins, whom he had hired for the purpose. Galeswinthe, the wife of Chilperick, a beautiful and pious princess, whose fate was similar, furnished legends to men of the sixth century, of a profound tenderness, which supplied the same consolation.

St. Sabas, when young, having to suffer from the wife of his uncle Hermias, from whose severity, in fine, after three years he had to escape by flight, was regarded as another of those whom persecution rendered blessed. St. Peter Damien, on the death of his father and mother, was likewise deemed entitled to beatitude, in consequence of the treatment he received from his brother, who employed him as a slave in tending the swine. This sort of persecution St. Monica would have had to suffer from the choleric and hasty temper of her husband Patricius, if it had not been for her unconquerable gentleness and discretion. In like manner, the empress Theodora, who defended holy images, and had the glory of exterminating the Iconoclastic heresy, reaped beatitude from the sufferings she endured from the brutal character of her husband, the emperor Theophilus. Another source of suffering to those who reaped eternal joy, consisted in the unfeeling haughty manners of the great, who, as we have before observed, were in consequence so little thought of, *maugre* their dust and heraldry. In heathen times loud and bitter were the complaints. Thus the nurse in the *Medea* exclaims :

δεινὰ τυράννων λήματα, καὶ πῶς
ὀλίγ' ἀρχόμενοι, πολλὰ κρατοῦντες,
χαλεπῶς ὀργὰς μεταβάλλουσιν

and hence she thinks it best to consort always with one's equals :

τὸ δ' ἄρ' εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισιν
κρεῖσσον' ἐμοίγ' οὖν, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως,
'Οχυρῶς γ' εἴη καταγηράσκειν. (119.)

That in the rich there is always a strong tendency to return to this ancient type, sad proof is seldom wanting. A venerable French priest, whose body rests within ten miles of the schools where I first studied, told me that he had passed the first years of his emigration in the family of a certain English Catholic, who constrained

him, he used to say cheerfully, to do penance for his many sins. But it was no uncommon desire to court the circumstances which exposed men to persecution of this kind. A memorable instance was seen in the choice of St. John of the cross, at his death; for it being necessary to remove him in his last sickness from the monastery of Pegnuela in the desert, to either of the two convents of Baece or Ubede, the choice being left to him, he refused to go to Baece, where the superior was his especial friend, and where he was respected as the founder, preferring to be conveyed to Ubede, of which new and ill-provided convent the prior was his enemy, and connected with those who had persecuted him*.

It remains to develop the proposition, that the endurance of tyranny or the action of unjust and cruel laws was regarded as conveying a similar title. In Merovingian times the cruelties and sacrileges committed by the armies of the sons of Clothaire were compared by the contemporary writers to the persecution of Diocletian, though the tears of the Church arose chiefly from the spectacle of horrors unconnected with the defence of faith†. "Persecution for justice," says Albertus Magnus, "is suffered by those who are unjustly judged against the laws and justice of the kingdom—when they fall under the iniquitous power of tyrants, and are spoiled of their goods through the avarice of those reigning in the kingdom of the world. Of these is the kingdom of heaven, as of the blessed poor, and there is one reward for both‡." Such were the Christians who suffered from the fiscal exactions of the Roman empire.

These indeed dated from earlier times; many provinces of the Roman empire paid a fifth of the pasture, and a tenth of the cultivated land. Antony and Cæsar required, in one year, the tribute of nine and ten years. When Julius Cæsar was slain, and arms taken up for liberty, each citizen was compelled to pay the twenty-fifth of all his goods, and all the senatorian order had to pay six asses for each tile on the roof of their houses. But, above all, the exactions in the Roman colonies were terrible. The miserable inhabitants in a single day used to be spoiled of all their property. But let us hear

* Dosithée, liv. viii. † St. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. iv.

‡ Albert. Mag. in Matt. v. tom. ix.

Lactantius respecting the persecution in Gaul, by the emperor Maximianus.

“ That was a common grief and public calamity, when the census was made in the cities and provinces, the censors being sent in all directions, whence hostile tumults and horrible kinds of captivity. The lands were measured by glebe, the vines and trees were numbered, animals of all kinds inscribed, the heads of men noted : the citizens and rustics were assembled promiscuously in the cities, and all the forums filled with servants ; every one being present with his children and servants : torture and stripes were inflicted, sons being examined against their fathers, servants against their masters, wives against their husbands. No excuse for age or sickness. The aged and sick were carried forth : the ages of all were written down ; years were added to little ones, and taken from the old ; all places were full of grief and sadness. What the ancient conquerors inflicted on the vanquished by law of war, this was now done by Romans against Roman subjects : yet faith was not placed in the same censors, but others were sent after others, as if more could yet be found. Meanwhile the animals diminished, and men died ; and then tribute was required for the dead ; so that no one could even die gratis. Beggars aloner emained, and the impious man had pity on their misery ; so he ordered them to be assembled and exported in ships and then thrown into the sea *.”

For several ages the Christian society of the Roman world was exposed to persecutions of this legal order, against which holy men continually protested, as when the abbot Sabas, being offered revenues by the emperor for his monasteries, declined the gift, but asked him to exempt the people of Palestine from taxes for a certain time. The conscription may be cited as another instance. St. Martin, at the age of fifteen, was compelled in consequence, by imperial orders, to take the military oath and enter the army. The church had a long and difficult task to fulfil, in her endeavours to infuse greater mildness into the spirit of governments which was so inclined always to relapse to its original pagan severity. Even so late as the age of Dante, her struggle continued. The Ghibeline views of the duty of subjects, as when the emperor

* Lactantii liber de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 23.

Albert required nothing but courage from the soldier, labour from the peasant, and servile submission from the wife, was denounced by her, and by the philosophers of the middle age, as the result of a proud and false opinion, practically at variance with faith, but no doubt capable of conducing to the eternal happiness of those who suffered from them; for, in short, all sorrows arising from a violation of natural equity, were considered as constituting one of the great powers of this world, commissioned to instruct and raise to beatitude the human race.

CHAPTER III.

“O UNCERTAIN path of life,” cries Camoens; “in our hopes how little security! in our joy what short duration! Where can weak man find shelter? where in this short life peace*?”

Leaving now this ground of suffering within the natural order, let us advance to the immediate domain of Christian history; for which purpose we must resume our researches into the deepest foundations of the Catholic mind with respect to persecution on account of justice, and observe how profound was the conviction of its necessity in the present state of the Church militant upon earth. Here again, in accordance with the custom of the schools during ages of faith, to which we have always endeavoured to adhere, we must call to witness the philosophy of the ancient world, and remark its coincidence with the true wisdom taught in the middle ages, which proceeded immediately from God.

“Why are the supporters of error prosperous, and the followers of truth in adversity?” is a question proposed by the Chæronean sage; to which he replies, “Consider how difficult it is to understand even the laws and institutions of human legislators, and then you

* *Lusiad*, i. 105.

will cease to wonder why we should not be able to comprehend the decrees of heaven; why God punishes some men immediately, and others not till a long time after *." The Catholic philosophy condescended to sympathize with those who felt the difficulty, but left them not with strange surmisings and anxious doubts, in ignorance of the true solution. "*Nimis profundæ factæ sunt cogitationes tuæ, Domine,*" truly adds St. Augustin; "there is no sea so deep as that thought of God, that the evil should prosper, and the good suffer. Nothing so profound as that: every infidel makes shipwreck in that depth, in that abyss. Do you wish to pass it in safety? Hold to the wood of the cross of Christ. He wished to suffer; wish then to suffer with him. Be patient as he is patient. Join your heart to the eternity of God, and with him you will be eternal. Wait then patiently with him, who waits because he is eternal †." "If your heart be in heaven, all the iniquities which are on earth, all the felicity of evil men, all the sufferings of the just, meditating on the law of God day and night, are as nothing, and you will patiently endure all ‡."

"It is a stupendous wonder," says Richard of St. Victor, "how God should constantly behold the evils of man, which he so greatly detests. For cannot the omnipotence of God prevent so many and such great evils, of which omnipotent wisdom cannot be ignorant, which omnipotent goodness can never love? To add to this subject of astonishment, he gives temporal good to the wicked, by means of which he seems to multiply their wickedness: for by temporal goods the wicked are rendered still more evil and separate from God. Cannot that penetration of divine knowledge discern that the evil will abuse his gifts? See then in what perplexity is the solution of this maze involved §."

The same astonishment is expressed by later theologians. "The moral order is perverted," says Veith; "justice is despised, innocence oppressed: and yet the physical world proceeds on its course. How mysterious is the omnipresence of God, which, acting secretly through

* De sera Numinis Vindicta.

† In Ps. xci.

‡ In Ps. xciii.

§ De Contemplatione, I. lib. ii. c. 22.

the creation, gives to all things their essence and being ! But more mysterious far is the seeming absence of God from that horizon, within which men move. God was essentially, yea personally present in Jesus Christ ; and behold ! during the awful night of his sacred passion in the house of Caiaphas, all that cruelty and rage could devise was inflicted upon him *."

Richard of St. Victor proceeds to solve the difficulty by showing to what important purposes in the œconomy of Providence, the persecution of just men conduces. " I beseech you," he says, " mark and admire in what manner the love of God fails in the wicked when they receive benefits, and how in the good, divine love is increased by a scourge. Doubtless, the love of God prevailed more in Laurence from the fire, than in Nero from empire ; or rather in Laurence it was nourished by flames, while in Nero it perished by the gift of imperial power. What is more wondrous still, the flame of love in the martyr prevailed more in that bitter pain, than it would have done in any temporal glory. What counsel and admirable artifice is here ! You see how that chief artificer shows the skill of his art, who, in his elect, produces and nourishes contrary from contrary things †."

St. Augustin had proposed the same solution. The prophecy was to Rebecca, "*Duæ gentes sunt in utero tuo, et major serviet minori.*" The holy doctor observing that the elder did not serve the younger, but sought to kill him, proceeds to ask this question : How then did he serve him ? to which he replies, " He served him not by obeying, but by persecuting him ; for the younger would never have become what he did, if he had not been persecuted ‡." " Behold," he exclaims elsewhere, " the profane enemy could never have bestowed such benefit upon the blessed innocents by his favour, as he conferred on them by his hate §."

Yes, " all that misery of the human race in which the world groans, is a medicinal and not a penal woe ;" as St. Augustin says ; " every where we find grief, and fear, and necessity, and labour : but for the evil only are they evil ; for the just it is a darkness which they can lighten,

* Words of the Enemies of Christ.

† Id. I. ii. 29.

‡ Serm. x. 78.

§ Serm. x. de Sanet.

it is a night which shines as the day; it is a night which is delightful; for their delight is Christ; and their triumph is that he should be preached *."

Let us refer to the series of all ages; "from the beginning," says John of Salisbury, in a letter to St. Thomas the martyr, "where do we find an example of one of the elect having passed from delights to delights? of one having here flourished and exulted with the world, who now in the abundance of fruits rejoices and reigns with Christ †?" "Let us consider the process in the visible wine-press," says St. Augustin, "that we may understand what takes place spiritually in the Church. The grapes hang on the vines, and the olives on the trees, and for these the presses are prepared; and before the pressure, as long as they hang thus enjoying the free air, neither can the former become wine, nor the latter oil; so it is with the men whom God hath predestined to be made conformable to the image of his only begotten Son, who in his passion was above all pressed out. Men of this kind, before they approach to the service of God, enjoy in this world a delicious liberty, like the grapes and olives growing; but coming to serve God in justice, they know that they must pass to the wine-press, that they may suffer together tribulation, that they may be bruised, that they may be compressed, that they may no longer appear in the world, but that they may flow into the treasury of God. So the work of conversion is the pressure; and therefore the Church is styled a wine-press in the Psalm. We are subjected to the pressure, in order that by torments and tribulation, our love for worldly, secular, temporal, flowing, and perishable things, may pass into a desire after that rest which is not of this life, nor of this earth, but which the Lord has prepared for his poor. Thus we flow into wine and oil, which are good desires; for there remains after the pressure not the love of earth, but the love of Him who made heaven and earth; the desire not of this thing or that, but of that immense good which God will hereafter give us, the gift of himself who made all things †."

* In Ps. cxxxviii.

† Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxxiii.

‡ In Ps. lxxxiii.

"Man cannot be happy," says Cardan, "without calamity, nor enjoy pleasure without bitterness*." "Omnis ingentis spiritus proprium est," he says again, "sibi parare mortem, aut carcerem, aut exilium †." The ancient philosophers had all made the same observations. "Marcet sine adversario virtus," said Seneca, and he even regarded persecution as adding to the beauty of the spectacle of the world. "Ego vero," he says, "non miror, si quando impetum capiunt dii, spectandi magnos viros collectantes cum aliqua calamitate. Nobis interdum voluptati est, si adolescens constantis animi irruentem feram venabulo excepit, si leonis incursum interritus pertulit: tantoque spectaculum est gratius, quanto id honestior fuit. Non sunt ista, quæ possunt deorum in se vultum convertere, sed pueritia et humanæ oblectamenta levitatis. Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus: ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus, utique si et provocavit. Non video, inquam, quid habeat in terris Jupiter pulchrius, si convertere animum velit, quam ut spectet Catonem, jam partibus non semel fractis, stantem nihilominus inter ruinas publicas rectum †."

The voice of religion in ages of faith repeated therefore the saying of that old philosophy, "Militandum est: et quidem genere militiæ, quo nunquam quies, nunquam otium datur." Fenelon remarks the necessity of instructing the young as to the meaning of certain ceremonies of the Church, which are to indicate that life is a state of warfare with the world. They are struck, he observes, by the bishop in confirmation, to harden them against persecution; they are anointed with oil, after the practice of the ancients, who thus prepared their limbs before going to battle. The bishop makes the sign of the cross upon them, to intimate that they should be crucified with Jesus Christ. "We are no longer," he adds, "you will say, in the times of persecution, when those who refused to renounce the Gospel were put to death; but the world, which can never cease to be the world, that is to say, corrupted, always carries on an indirect persecution against piety:

* Cardan de Consolatione, lib. i.

† Id. lib. iii.

‡ De Providentia.

it lays snares for it; it decries it; it derides it, and it renders the practice of it so difficult in most conditions, that even in the midst of Christian nations, and where the sovereign authority supports Christianity, men are in danger of blushing at the name of Jesus Christ, and at the imitation of his life *” In all this there is a continuation of the old experience, as attested by the traditions and philosophic teaching of the ancient world; though, as we shall see later, there was something more, inasmuch as the cause for persecution was enhanced by the greater manifestation and more immediate presence of justice consequent upon the diffusion of the light of Christ. Do you refuse to believe me, deceived by the sophists, who intimate that divine religion is in fault, as being a law that deserves the character ascribed to it by Julian, who said that it contained *πολὸν τὸ ἀγριον καὶ βάρβαρον*, or inclined to believe with the Pagans of old, that the sufferings of Christians prove their religion to be false, against which argument wrote St. Cyprian †, Salvian ‡, and St. Augustin §? Shall I continue to call antiquity from the old schools of Greece to testify this fact? Then hear their evidence. “An hoc non ita fit omni in populo?” asks Cicero. “Nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderunt? Quid? Aristides, nonne ob eam causam expulsus est patria quod præter modum justus esset ||?” “Dies deficiat si velim numerare quibus bonis male evenerit; nec minus, si commemorarem quibus improbis optime. Quid dicam de Socrate? cujus morti illacrymari soleo Platonem legens ¶.” The force of these passages is not diminished by their being so familiar to most ears. It is sufficiently clear from them, that thinking and conscientious men ought to have been prepared for the reception which the Christian religion met with from the world, and as elsewhere has been shown, that so far from that reception constituting a ground of objection to the truth of revelation, it was an additional proof that it was from God. But we are arrived on the ground at which the immediate domain of this history commences, and over

* De l'Education des Filles.

† Contra Gentes.

‡ Tuscul. v. 36.

† Contra Demetrianum.

§ De Civ. Dei.

¶ De Nat. Deorum, iii.

these first memorable scenes we must pass hastily. Their character in relation to all former tragedies is expressed by St. Augustin in few words, where he says, "*Nascente Domino luctus cœpit, non cœlo, sed mundo **."

In fact, persecution for justice may be said to have only commenced when the first adorers of the infant Jesus had to return to their country secretly by a different road, lest they should incur death for worshipping him. The first general persecution, in which Peter and Paul suffered, when it was forbidden by an edict to be a Christian, broke out in the reign of Nero. The Roman martyrology, on the 24th of June, makes a general mention of all the martyrs whose torments are described by Seneca and Tacitus, styling them the disciples of the Apostles, and the first-fruits of the innumerable martyrs with which Rome, so fruitful in that divine seed, peopled heaven. Such are the wonderful ways by which the Spirit of God established the Church throughout the world. Our omnipotent Lord laid the foundation in labours and sorrows, and cemented it with his blood; and, as He declared, the servant was not to be treated better than his master. In labours and sorrows, sufferings and death, was the grand building to be erected and perfected; and so we witness it proceeding in every age even to the present day.

The second persecution, in which St. John was exiled to Patmos, was by Domitian; the third was in the reign of Trajan, the fourth in that of Adrian; after which, under Antoninus Pius, the church had peace. The fifth broke out in the year 168, in the reign of his son Aurelius; during which, for the first time, Gaul saw martyrs. Then it was that the Christian citizens and faithful of Lyons wrote that affecting epistle to the churches of the East, which should be imprinted on every Christian's memory. It was then that St. Pothinus suffered. But all should read and hear the original acts of these martyrdoms, which give such an interest to that river Saone, which is said to derive its name Sangona—à sanguine martyrum †. The sixth persecution was in the reign of Severus, in which Leonidas, the father of Origen, suffered. Peace then lasted thirty-eight years, till the year 251,

* Serm. i. de Innocent.

† Guill. Paradin. Hist. de Lyons, l. 3.

when the seventh tempest burst upon the church in the reign of Decius. In the year 258 the eighth began under Valerian. Then, after an interval of fifty years, in 303 the ninth and most terrible burst out, under Diocletian and Maximianus. This lasted ten years over the whole world, ceasing only when the emperor became Christian in Constantine. "The tenth," says Sulpicius Severus, "is expected in the time of antichrist, at the end of the world *." Though we cannot dwell on the awful scenes presented during this first period, when they who now possess the palm delivered their bodies to death that they might not serve idols, some allusion to them was indispensable to comprehend the mind of the middle ages, which was trained up and tempered by their memory.

All must have heard that affecting trait in the history of St. Louis, when the knights believed they were about to be decapitated, and the brave Joinville says, "As for me I made the sign of the cross, and knelt down at the feet of one of the executioners, as we thought them, who held a Danish axe, and I said, 'Thus died St. Agnes!'" so present to the recollection of these men was each circumstance of the primitive martyrology; and indeed who can pass near these sublime and affecting monuments without casting a look towards them, though he may feel powerless to convey the faintest conception of their solemnity? O Christ, how fresh is the recollection still of thy first witnesses in some places of this earth! Within the catacombs at Rome might have been lately read inscriptions which described in affecting language the misfortunes of the persecution. Mark these lines, for instance: "*Alexander mortuus non est, sed vivit super astra, et corpus in hoc tumultu quiescit. Vitam explevit cum Antonio Imp. qui ubi multum beneficii antevenire prævideret pro gratia odium reddit, genua enim flectens, vero Deo sacrificaturus, ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infausta! quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidem salvari possimus. Quid miserius vita, sed quid miserius in morte, cum ab amicis et parentibus sepeliri nequeant, tandem in cælo coruscant †?*"

"Daily," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "do we behold many martyrs burned, crucified, and beheaded

* *Sacræ Hist. Lib. li.*

† *P. Aringhi Rom. Subter. 293.*

before our eyes." "It may seem to us improbable," says a pious writer, "that tyrants could be found so devoid of human feeling as to inflict such tortures on their fellow-creatures merely for conscience sake; and it may seem almost impossible that such tortures could be endured by men, and that their resolution could have been so invincible, when a word from their lips would have delivered them: but the acts of the martyrs are here, which were often written by eye-witnesses. Thus those of St. Jonas and companions, in 327, conclude with these words: 'This book was written by Esaias, of the royal troop of horsemen, who was present at their interrogatories and tortures.'"

There is something in the aspect of the very spots which beheld these tragedies, which seems to attest, in language more forcible than words, what they have witnessed, so as to impress the beholder with a profound and mysterious sorrow. I call to witness those who have seen the three churches at the Salvian waters in the Campagna of Rome, where St. Paul was beheaded. Leaving the gate of St. Paul, and passing beyond the Basilica of the Apostle of the nations, after traversing a desert, you descend upon a valley, thickly overgrown with tall reeds, from the slopes encircling which you behold three churches standing close together, and no other building in that wilderness. This is the place.

"It has a sad and fatal invitation !
 A hermit, that forsakes the world for prayer
 And solitude, would be timorous to live here.
 There's not a spray for birds to perch upon ;
 For every tree that overlooks the vale
 Carries the mark of lightning, and is blasted.
 The day, which smiled as we came forth, and spread
 Fair beams about, has taken a deep melancholy
 That sits more ominous in her face than night.
 All darkness is less horrid than half-light.
 Never was such a scene for death presented ;
 And there's a sullen mountain peeping over
 With many reeds, seeming to crowd themselves
 Spectators of some tragedy ; but the scene has been *."

These themes belong to the immediate ages of this

* Shirley

present history, only as having been cherished in the memory of men. I cannot therefore attempt to pursue them. Had I indeed the pen of a Chateaubriand, I might have desired to tell of earlier days. I might have sung of those who fled to barbarous countries, or to the burning sands of the desert. I might have described the long adieus and tender embraces given in the streets of Rome by those who prepared to suffer for Jesus Christ. We might have seen the venerable confessors, who had survived former persecutions, encouraging the weak or moderating the ardour of the fervent ; the women and children ; the youths who surrounded the old men, and who spoke of Laurence upon the burning coals, and Vincent of Saragossa in prison, entertained by angels ; of Eulalie of Merida, Pelagia of Antioch, of Felicita and Perpetua in the amphitheatre of Carthage ; of Theodotus, and the seven virgins of Ancyra. We might have followed the pontiffs concealing the sacred books, and the priests enclosing the viaticum ; watched the opening of the most solitary and unknown catacombs, to serve instead of temples ; heard the naming of the deacons, who in disguise were to bear assistance to the martyrs in the mines and in the dungeons, where the reconciliations and restitutions were often made ; and thus in fine have witnessed the Church preparing, without noise, without ostentation, without tumult, to suffer with simplicity ; "like the daughter of Jephtha demanding from her father only one moment to weep her sacrifice upon the mountain : " but these are themes too tender and divine, too full of poesy and of delicious grace for my rude pen.

"Alas !" exclaims the author of the Martyrs, in an eloquent passage which might almost be taken for an allusion to days not far removed from our own : "men inhabit the same earth, but how they differ from one another ! Could one suppose that these were brethren and citizens of the same city, one part of whom pass their days in joy and the other in tears ? How affecting was it, in the delirium of pagan Rome to see the Christians humbly offering to God their prayers, deploring their criminal excesses, and giving all the examples of modesty and reason in the midst of debauchery and drunkenness ! Some secret altars in dungeons, in the depth of the catacombs, upon the tombs of the martyrs, drew round

them the persecuted faithful. They fasted, they watched, voluntary victims, as if compensating for a world of crime; and while the names of Flora and Bacchus resounded in execrable hymns, amidst blood and wine, the names of Jesus Christ and Mary were secretly repeated in chaste canticles in the midst of tears *."

On the second period of Christian history, from the end of the conflicts with Paganism to the sixth general council, or to the end of the persecutions by those who attacked the doctrine of the Incarnation, that is till the year 680, the immediate object of the present history will not require us to dwell. Peace had been no sooner given to the church than the Arian heresy broke out, which caused long and cruel persecutions of bishops, priests, and laymen, who suffered in prodigious numbers for the sake of this highest justice, which consists in the defence of truth.

Here again, of the stupendous wonders presented in the moral world, religion furnished men in ages of faith with a satisfactory solution. "If any one," said St. Chrysostom, "be now indignant that there should be heretics, let him consider that there have been always, by means of the devil, from the first, enemies to the truth. In the beginning God promised good to the first man, and the devil came promising the same good. God planted a paradise; the devil also promised, saying, 'You shall be as God:' then came Cain and Abel, sons of God and sons of men; Abraham and Pharaoh, Moses and the magi, prophets and false prophets, apostles and false prophets, Christ and Antichrist †." Reason herself, guided by sad experience, can enable us to untie the knot, for, as the materialist Helvetius says, "If there could exist a man who might imagine it to be his interest that two and two should make five, no one would ever persuade him that two and two make four. Hence, as St. Clement of Alexandria says, while "it is clear that there is one true ancient Catholic church, as there is one God and one Lord, having nothing equal or like to itself, heresies are multiplied; some called from the names of men, as Valentinian, Marcion, and Basileidus; others from those of places, as the Peraticæ; others from those of nations, as the Phrygians; others from the peculiarity of

* Les Martyrs, liv. xxiii. † In 2 Epist. ad Tim. Hom. viii.

their doctrines, as the Docetæ and the Aimatitons;—causing so many sects that the Greeks and Jews objected and refused to believe on account of their number, not observing that they never refused to become Jews or philosophers, on account of the many chosen varieties of opinions among Jews and philosophers *”. Here however was another source of persecution, no less productive than the first; for, as St. Hilary says, “*Negotium apostolicis viris semper fuit constanti et publica fidei prædicatione conatus omnes oblatrantis hæresis comprimere;*” and indeed this was a duty regarded in some degree as incumbent upon all men alike; since as the Fathers said “*Christianus, alter Christus;*” and it was observed that our divine Lord, when presented before the proud judge, answered nothing “*de discipulis,*” but for his doctrine raised his head and voice, saying, “*Ego palam locutus sum mundo;*” “it was remarked for a general example that in all his passion He seldom or never made answer to any but in the behalf of truth or of his doctrine †.” Hence St. Maximus, who endured such persecutions from the Arians and Monothelites, having his tongue torn out and his right hand cut off, from the effect of which torments he died in prison, had refused to be silent on the difference between these heresies and the Catholic church, saying that upon that principle Jews and Christians might be united, as well as Catholics and Arians. “*True peace,*” indeed, as Florus says, in his beautiful exposition of the Mass, written in the ninth century, “*makes unity; not however by causing men to unite with error, but by inducing them, whatever they might risk, to renounce error, from avoiding which no one could be ever dispensed;*” and on this point the words of St. Dionysius of Alexandria were memorable: “*You ought to suffer every thing rather than excite a schism in the Church. To die in defence of the unity of the Church is as glorious, and, even to my mind, more glorious than to refuse, at the expense of one’s life, to sacrifice to idols, because it is dying for the general good of the spouse of Jesus Christ.*”

To the sufferings of the early Church, from the Arian, the Sabellian, Gnostic and Iconoclastic errors, as well as

* Strom. lib. vii. 15; vii. c. 17.

† Medit. for the use of the Eng. College at Lisbon, ii. c. 5.

from the Donatistic and Nestorian sects, all which heresies as those, since the sixteenth century, armed by the civil power, raged with a Pagan violence against her children, the faithful of the middle ages in general recurred as to ages of misery, which were never likely to return. But they were intimately familiar with the acts of these confessors and martyrs, and they cherished their memory with all the ardour and reverence of heroic men. "Truly we may see," says the hivalrous author of the *Tree of Battles*, "how in times past the holy Church has been in many great wars. I must now mention the persons who gave battle to the false heretics. Know then well that the strongest in war were my lord St. Augustin, my lord St. Jerome, my lord St. Innocent, the first of that name, and also my lord St. Gregory. These were great in sanctity, in science, and in scripture *." So along with the immortal names, associated in every noble heart with the love of the highest and truest glory, were enshrined the memories of Pope Liberius, of Faegadius and Servatius; of St. John Chrysostom, persecuted under Arcadius, whom Pope Innocent I. in consequence excommunicated; of St. Basil, of St. Fulgentius, and St. Athanasius, persecuted by the emperor and his courtier bishops. How did the hearts of men, in ages of faith, burn within them on hearing recounted the persecutions of that holy champion, which he so heroically endured during the forty-six years of his episcopacy, from the hatred and violence of the Arians and other schismatics! Truly his sufferings were memorable. The blackest calumnies, charges of murder, adultery, extortion, and sacrilege, were forged against him, and false witnesses suborned to swear to the truth of the allegations: he was deposed by a mock council, and it was only by hiding himself in cisterns, caverns, deserts, and by voluntary banishment, that his life was preserved from the fury of the Arians. In this state of constant combat he served Christ nearly forty years, under the reign of several Arian emperors, while his resolute defence of the truth never slackened.

The persecutions of St. Cyril, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and of the Pope St. Silverius, were recounted at every hearth. How chivalrous, how magnificent, was

* *L'Arbre des Batailles.*

deemed the reply of the latter to the empress Theodora, who espoused the cause of Anthimus and of the Eutychians, that no power on earth should ever induce him to betray the Catholic faith! for which answer she resolved to procure his deposition by violence, which was effected with such barbarity that he expired under it.

Thus names, that were familiar to the west as household words, recalled these persecutions. Then, as a domestic tradition, men recounted the sufferings for the faith which were endured by St. Hilary of Poitiers, that trumpet of the Latins, as St. Jerome styles him, when the Arian emperor Constantius persecuted the church, deposing and banishing all the bishops who refused to adopt his measures. How were the knightly hearts of our fathers moved by that greatness of soul evinced by him when sighing for martyrdom, and proving himself superior to the fear of death! All whose memory was revered were among the persecuted. "I spent six months with Jerome," says Postumianus, "who had to maintain continual battle against the wicked; the flagitious hated him; the heretics hated him; and clerks of evil manners hated him*." Nor was it forgotten among the titles of St. Martin, whom every knight regarded as his mirror, that he too had the glory of suffering persecution from the Arian invader of the see of Milan, Auxentius, who banished him on discovering his zeal for the Catholic faith. Thus many glorious names, that were still fresh in the public recollection, kept alive that salutary horror for men of evil choice, whose title of miscreant passed into a term sanctioned, yea canonized, to express the noblest indignation. The sufferings of the church in Italy from the Arians, in the time of Theodoric, and in Spain, from the kings who had embraced the same error, had even brought down the succession of these persecutions to the period which is principally embraced by this history. St. Leander, bishop of Seville, banished and persecuted by the Arian king, Leovigild; Hermenegild, that king's eldest son and heir apparent, forced by his father into banishment, and afterwards slain by his order, because he would not receive the communion from the hand of an Arian bishop, were examples as of yesterday, pourtrayed in solemn paintings in the feudal hall,

* Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 267.

and constantly proposed by holy preachers during the middle ages for the instruction of youth, to preserve them from that deadly sin of readiness to comply with the manners and invitations of those who were traitors to the banner of the Church. To conceive the interest attached to these high lessons, in our heroic age, we should hear the narrative respecting the latter from the annals of the Gothic majesty, and mark how many stirring incidents were comprised in it to act as a spur upon the generous.

St. Hermenegild, the son of Leovigild, king of the Visigoths of Spain, who, with his brother Recarede, was brought up in the heresy of the Arians like his father, being moved and encouraged by the example and conversation of his pious queen Ingondes, a zealous Catholic, daughter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia in France, who suffered cruel persecutions from Goswinde, the second wife of her father-in-law, threw himself into the arms of St. Leander, bishop of Seville, and taking advantage of his father's absence abjured his heresy, and was received into the Church. The father, on hearing of his son's conversion, was transported with rage, and ordered him to abdicate the title of king, which he already bore as sovereign prince, and to come and submit to his will. Hermenegild, though all the Catholics of Spain joined him, had no adequate means of defence. He sought assistance from the Roman army which the emperors of Constantinople retained in Spain, of which the chiefs swore to sustain his cause; and, at their encouragement, after enduring a siege of more than a year, he escaped from Seville, and arrived at the camp: but finding that they intended to betray him to his father, he fled to Cordova, and thence at the head of three hundred men to Osseto, which was well fortified: but not being able to hold out, the city was burnt, and the prince took refuge in its celebrated church. His father having recourse to treachery, sent his other son, Recarede, to promise him his pardon if he submitted. Hermenegild, trusting in his Arian brother, left the altar and resolved to throw himself at his father's feet; but he had no sooner led him into the camp, than he stripped him of his royal dress, loaded him with chains, and sent him to the tower of Seville. In a horrible dungeon, Hermenegild resisted promises and menaces which were employed to draw him back to

heresy, while he protested, that to his last breath he would preserve his love, respect, and duty, to his father. Easter being arrived, an Arian bishop was sent to him in the night to administer the communion; but he rejected his ministry with horror, and bore witness to the truth. The king then, in a transport of rage, sent some soldiers to dispatch him, who, on holy Saturday, the thirteenth of April, 586, clove his head with an axe, and scattered his brains upon the floor. His body was still preserved in Seville, and to his merits St. Gregory the Great has ascribed the conversion of the king Recarede, and of the whole nation of the Goths of Spain. The wretched father, without being converted, recommended on his death-bed Recarede to St. Leander, and besought him to learn the principles of the Catholic religion.

Such was the affecting history. The sufferings endured by Catholics for refusing to sanction the heresy of the Iconoclasts, being confined to the Eastern Church, had not left so deep and general an impression on the European mind, although the recollection of them was preserved as part of a glorious inheritance, to prove that, for every part of the sacred deposit of Catholic faith and discipline, some just men had generously met death. Some traits of this latter persecution were, indeed, more especially cherished, as evincing the perfidy and barbarism with which the pretensions to purer worship were supported. Such was the example of St. Theodore and his brother, two monks of St. Sabas, who, after being scourged in the presence of the emperor Theophilus, for refusing to have communion with the Iconoclasts, whose heresy he favoured, had twelve iambic lines graven on their faces, from the effects of which long and cruel operation St. Theodore soon died: his brother survived it, and was even elected a bishop in happier times, when that heresy was no longer armed with the imperial power. Such again were the histories which recorded the sufferings of St. Stephen the younger, of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and of three hundred and nine monks commemorated by the Church, who, under Constantine Copronymus, shed their blood in testimony of Catholic truth, in regard to the honour due to holy images. Truly, the originals from which the adversaries of the Church in later times copied, were worthy of their pencil. St. Theodorus, the father of St. Nicephorus, and secretary to this em-

peror, for maintaining the respect due to images, in opposition to his master, was stripped of his dignities, tortured, and banished. His son becoming patriarch of Constantinople in 806, followed his steps in despising the rage of tyrants, and suffering persecution for the sake of truth. Leo the Armenian, an Iconoclast, becoming emperor, studied by every means to gain over Nicephorus to his heresy; but the confessor replied, "We cannot change ancient traditions: we respect holy images as we do the cross and the book of the Gospels." When the emperor assembled in his palace certain Iconoclast bishops, and summoned the patriarch and his fellow bishops, they besought the emperor to leave the government of the Church to its pastors. "For the last eight hundred years, since the coming of Christ, there have been always pictures of him," said Ethymius, bishop of Sardes; "who shall now have the boldness to abolish such a tradition?" "Do not disturb the order of the Church, my lord," said St. Theodorus the Studite. "You are entrusted with the care of the state; but leave the Church to its pastors." They were then driven from the emperor's presence, and when, soon after, the Iconoclast bishops cited the patriarch to appear, he returned this answer, "Who gave you this authority? was it the Pope? In my diocese you have no jurisdiction." They, however, pronounced a sentence of deposition against him, and the holy patriarch was sent by the emperor into banishment, in which, after fourteen years, he died. Thus, brought up in the lap of luxury and wealth, and loaded with the highest honours of the empire, he held fast to the traditions of the Church, preferred the miseries of exile before all the glittering things of the world, and delivered himself into the hands of persecutors.

Previously to the rise of this heresy, the Church beheld the commencement of other sufferings, from which her children in countless multitudes were to reap beatitude; but as these extended to the period to which our history immediately relates, it was better to depart a little from the order of time, and reserve to the next chapter the consideration of the persecutions from men of misdirected wills in matters of faith, to which Catholics in the middle ages were during certain intervals exposed.

CHAPTER IV.

“Avete, cœli milites,
In asperis probati,
Fuso cruore nobiles,
Christique purpurati,
Quos execranda pravitas
Tot hæresum immolavit,
Et cæcior gentilitas
Sæve neci dicavit.”

SUCH was the chant under the vaults of every Benedictine abbey, annually heard on the festival of all the saints of that holy family, attesting the twofold persecutions to which the religious and, in fact, Catholics of every kind, were still occasionally liable.

By two modes of action did the pagan persecution continue during the middle ages. It was kept alive by a partial lingering resistance within countries already converted, accompanied with occasional invasions from external pagans, and by violence to the apostolic men who proceeded as missionaries to regions still under the domination of idolaters. Of the former we find many instances, and down to a later period than is generally supposed. Thus, in the eleventh century, St. Gerard, a Venetian by birth, and by vocation an apostle and Hungarian bishop, after being favoured by the king, St. Stephen, was persecuted by his three successors, Peter an immoral prince, Abas, who evinced savage cruelty, and Andrew, cousin-german to Stephen, who received the crown on condition that he would restore idolatry and extirpate Christianity. Gerard and three other bishops immediately set out to persuade the new king from perpetrating such a crime, though their hopes of success must have been small. On reaching the banks of the Danube, St. Gerard, after saying mass, said to his companions, “We shall all suffer martyrdom this day, except the bishop of Benetha.” They advanced a little further, and were about to cross the Danube, when they were assailed by some soldiers under the command of duke Vatha, who, after covering them with a shower of stones, overturned the chariot. The saint raised himself on

his knee and prayed aloud, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge;" which words were hardly uttered when he was transpierced with a lance. Two of the other bishops shared with him the glory of martyrdom, but the king coming up rescued the other. This was in the year 1046.

St. Rupert, bishop of Worms in the seventh century, suffered persecution from the idolaters, who still existed in numbers in that country, who, after many injuries, drove him from his see, which was the occasion of his proceeding to Saltzbouurg. St. Amand, bishop of Maestricht, suffered stripes and immersion for preaching the Gospel to the pagan people of Ghent; and St. Mellitus, the first bishop of London, and founder of the church of St. Paul, was, after the death of the king Sebert, driven from his see by the three sons of that king, who then returned to the open profession of idolatry. Eloy at Noyon, St. Ouen at Rouen, and many bishops in other parts of France, had to contend with this original element of persecution during the whole period of their episcopacy. The pagan invasions of Christian countries, and the consequent sufferings of the faithful, enriched the shrines of Christendom with the bodies of innumerable saints. It was in the year 774, that the Saxons chiefly persecuted the Church. They were soon followed by the Danes and Normans. In later times the Hungarians ravaged Germany, Gaul, and Italy; and by the hands of these pagan invaders, innumerable persons, of both sexes and of every age, suffered death, refusing to renounce their faith. Thus St. Adrian, bishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, was martyred in 874 by the Danes, along with many others. Thus St. Elphegus, archbishop of Canterbury, suffered death from the same barbarians. In the reign of Duncan, king of Scotland, an army of Norwegians under Haco ravaged the Orkneys. St. Maing, a holy bishop, interfered, saying, "I am ready to die a thousand times for God and for his flock, but I command you in his name to spare his people." His head was cut off with one blow. This was in 1104 in the island of Eglis, where he was interred. St. Eric, king of Sweden, being hated and despised for his piety by some of his subjects who continued attached to paganism, was martyred by them in 1151. They rose in arms on the day of the ascension. The king was at mass when he received

the first intelligence of their march to attack him. "Let us finish the sacrifice," said he calmly; "the remainder of the festival will pass elsewhere." He advanced to meet them before his guards, wishing to spare the blood of his subjects; and so fell by their hands. A true Machabee of the Christians was the king St. Godescalc, whom Adam of Bremen terms the most powerful among the Slavonic sovereigns. In consequence of his protection and encouragement, and even personal assistance as an interpreter, holy missionaries had converted the whole country of the idolaters, on the north of Germany, from the Elbe to Mecklenburg. In the year 1066, those who still continued attached to paganism in the duchy of Mecklenburg revolted. Godescalc was martyred by them in the town of Lanzin, while the priest Ebbon was poniarded upon the altar.

France for many ages beheld Christian blood shed in torrents for the faith by pagan invaders. A memorable instance was the martyrdom of St. Gohard, with priests, monks, and a crowd of the faithful, within the cathedral of Nantes in 843, by the Normans. Similarly England, in which the first British blood shed by pagans for the faith was that of the holy Alban of Verulam, who received into his house a priest flying from his persecutors, continued for a long time liable to periodical invasions from the northern pagans, by whose hands many of her sons gained the crown of martyrdom.

Italy, in the sixth century, received the blood of many martyrs, forty of whom, who were peasants, are honoured by the Church on the second of March as having suffered death from the Lombards, for refusing to acquiesce in their idolatry. The persecutions inflicted by pagans, by means of sudden inroads upon Christendom, continued to much later times than is generally supposed. In the thirteenth century, the blessed Sadoc, of the order of St. Dominic, and forty-eight companions, were martyred by the Tartars as they sang the praises of God in the choir of their monastery of Sandomir in Poland. It was in the fearful invasion in 1240, when five hundred thousand of these barbarians carried desolation into Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and the frontiers of Germany, that Henry II. surnamed the Pious, duke of Silesia, was slain. After the battle of Wolstadt, in which he fell, they marched against Breslau, where the prayers

of an humble servant of God renewed the prodigies of Elijah and Elisha. It would be difficult to conceive an adequate idea of the horrors attending these pagan invasions. When all other persons had fled before them, the recluses and the aged monks used to remain and become their victims, suffering cruel torments. Thus, when the barbarians of East Friesland made an irruption upon Lower Austrasia in the seventh century, St. Renelle, the sister of St. Gudule, along with two others, was found in the church, and cruelly slain at the foot of the altar. It was before observed, that the offices of the Church bear traces of the fear which Paganism inspired. In an ancient manuscript, in the abbey of St. Hubert, in the forest of Ardennes, Dom Martene found a prayer against Pagan persecutions, in these words: "*Ecclesiam tuam quæsumus proprio sanguine Filii tui redemtam jugibus defende præsidiiis, ut, persecutione paganorum procul repulsa, tibi omni tempore famuletur**;" and in the Roman missal, the missa contra paganos, of which the substitutions provided in the event of its being required during the paschal time are truly affecting, is still retained. The pagan persecution continued also during the middle ages under the original form of slavery, and to such an extent, that each record of the charity of holy men is an attestation of its pressure. As in the persecution by Decius and Maximin, when the piety of the Christians furnished a spectacle of heroic mercy towards those condemned to the mines, so in later times the alms of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Germain of Paris, of St. Loup, of St. Eloi, and of innumerable other holy bishops, were applied to the redemption of Spanish, Irish, English, Breton, Gascon, and Burgundian victims, whom the pagans had reduced to captivity. Nevertheless, such persecutions, though so frequently recurring, were not sufficient to satiate the desire of men in the middle ages. To the second mode of action, therefore, we must refer, by which pagans were instrumental to the diffusion of the precious seed: and here we shall be presented with majestic figures, which of themselves ought to have been more than sufficient to put to shame the rash declaimers who endeavoured to obscure the piety and the justice of those generations, by representing them as

* Voyage lit. p. 142.

deficient in the true spirit and manner of divine religion.

"Quis," exclaims Tacitus, "quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut Africa, aut Italia relictæ, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit?" He could have little conceived the mind which led our missionaries to the regions of the north, where far other perils awaited them besides what he contemplated.

"Respicite et turbas validorum mente virorum
Qui magna in miseris pugnarunt prælia terris,
Nuncque Beatorum securo pace fruuntur*."

To the persecutions and martyrdom of the illustrious apostle St. Boniface, in the eighth century, we have alluded incidentally in former books:

"Multa tulit fecitque puer, spretisque periclis
Verbum evangelii medios portavit in hostes†."

Such was his ardour for this work of peril, that he made three journeys to the country of the heathens, having returned from the first to his monastery in Devonshire, and from the second to Rome. Fifty-two other Christians suffered martyrdom along with him on the vigil of Pentecost. When the Pagans advanced to massacre the pious troop assembled to assist at confirmation, the saint exhorted them to make no resistance. As for himself, he said that the day he had long waited for was come, and he encouraged the rest to meet with joy and constancy a death which was the gate of heaven. When St. Winebald accompanied him in 738 into Thuringia, the idolaters often attempted his life by poison and by open violence, but escaping, by the Divine protection, he continued his zealous labours to dilate the fold of Christ. Before his time, it had long been a common thought of holy persons to devote their lives to spread light and love among the heathen people. St. Gombert, brother of St. Nivard, bishop of Rheims, in the seventh century proceeded to the sea-coast of Holland, to preach to the idolaters. He built a monastery at Oldenzel, in the diocese of Utrecht, where he used to harbour the poor and redeem prisoners; but the barbarians in the end sacrificed him.

* Pastoral for 1841, by John Leonardus, bishop of Fulda.

† Ibid.

Who could enumerate all the martyrs among the missionaries in Saxony and Friesland in the eighth century ; or among the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, where such multitudes of English and Irish priests were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, from the eighth to the eleventh ; or amongst the South-eastern Slavonians, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and Prussians, from the ninth to the fourteenth century ? Mark what figures pass. Here is St. Erluph, bishop of Verden, a missionary from Scotland to the east of Germany, martyred for the faith by the idolaters in 830, near Eppokstorp. Here is Tancon, or Tatta, at first a monk of Amabaric in Scotland, and then abbot, who, through desire of martyrdom, departed to preach the Gospel in Germany, after the example of Patton, his predecessor. Elected bishop of Verden to succeed him, he was assassinated in 815 by one of the wicked, who were exasperated on account of his preaching against the lives of bad Christians. Here is St. Wolfred, an Englishman and a bishop in Sweden, who in 1028 suffered death from the hands of the Pagans, for destroying with his own hand the great idol of the country called Thor, though he acted with the sanction of the king, Olaus II. St. Eskill, who follows, is his fellow-countryman and labourer in the same land, where he is honoured as an apostle, and one of the most illustrious martyrs of Christ. On the return of St. Anschaire from Sweden, where he had founded a numerous church, the people resumed their ancient superstitions, and the news of their apostasy filled with sorrow the north of England. Then St. Sigefride, archbishop of York, resolved to undertake a mission to recover them, and Eskill, his relation, accompanied him. When Sigefride left Sweden, Eskill remained as bishop of that church, and greatly extended it, till the accession of Swenon the bloody, under whose reign Paganism was re-established, the saint being stoned to death for preaching Christ. Here is St. Henry, archbishop of Upsal, another Englishman and apostle of the north, along with Nicholas Breakspear, his countryman, subsequently Pope Adrian IV., who, after losing sight of his fellow-labourer, evangelised Finland, and was stoned to death in 1151. St. Eloy, whom we have before so often met, is also here ; for he too at one time exposed his life every day, while preaching to the Pagans among the Flemings about Antwerp and the

Frisons and Suevi. These barbarians, like wild beasts, at first were ready to tear him to pieces; yet he persevered, desiring nothing more than martyrdom, and succeeded in adding a great part of Flanders to the fold of Christ. This was in the seventh century. Here is, too, St. Rumold, an Anglo-Saxon, the patron of Malines, who laboured in the same country, and suffered martyrdom in 775. Here is St. Adalbert, another familiar face, bishop of Prague in the tenth century. This holy man being shocked at the heathen manners of his flock, among whom prevailed the crimes of one man having many wives, of the marriage of clerks, and of the purchase of slaves in such numbers that the bishop could not redeem them all, concluded, after long and urgent efforts to correct them, that he would better leave them than lose his labour on an obstinate and perishing people. Encouraged in this project by a vision of our Saviour in the night, he set out as a pilgrim bound for Jerusalem, but at Rome he resolved to enter a monastery, and retired into the cloister of Mount Cassino, whence, after some time, he removed to that of St. Alexius on Mount Aventine. Being prevailed upon to return to Prague, the whole city went out to meet him, and, with every demonstration of joy and reverence, they promised to correct their former habits; but finally, being more convinced of the inutility of all his efforts, and being overwhelmed with affliction at certain events, he withdrew a second time, and returned in 995 to Rome, where he resumed his peaceful monastic life. In obedience to the desire of Pope Gregory V., he in the year 996 prepared to preach the Gospel to the heathen people of the north; and for this purpose he left his beloved cloister on Mount Aventine, and repaired in the first instance to Mainz, where he had an interview with the emperor Otho: on which occasion, it is said, he instructed him how he ought to govern the republic, and rule over himself in all his deeds, both before God and men. Innumerable perils, insults, and sufferings awaited him in Prussia. When struck, so as to be obliged to let the Psalter fall out of his hands, his only words were, "I thank you, O Lord Jesus, that I am worthy to receive at least one blow for thy sake." Soon after his arrival he received the crown of martyrdom. But, though we descend to later times, these solemn forms now advance in such close-crowding throngs as to defy a scrutiny of

each. What denotes this immense assemblage of friars of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominick? These were all martyred in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries by Pagans, to whom they preached the Gospel*. Of most, the world has forgotten both the name and country. Their sepultures, even to their respective orders, are unknown. "O that some tongue had power to leave one sparkle of their glory unto the race to come, that would not lose the benefit of their triumph, if it could waken aught of memory by record sung! But, alas, profound indifference is all they can expect to meet with from men who are idolaters of ease. Pass on, ye sons of Eve! swell out, and with stiff necks turn your looks aside, lest one glance from these holy cross-bearers should mar your peace †."

Among the neophytes too was quickly diffused beatitude by sufferings for Christ. Thus Fingar, son of an Irish king, was banished by his father for having received honourably St. Patrick, and for having embraced Christianity at his preaching. This prince sought refuge in Brittany, where he afterwards suffered martyrdom. Would you hear the moving strains with which all these pacific men advanced to the terrible nations that sat in darkness, saying with a placid breast, like Ilioneus, to the sovereign of a strange land,

"Parce piò generi, et propius res aspice nostras ‡?"

The Catholic poet does but faithfully recount them in the words which he ascribes to the apostle of Ireland:

"—— Great sir, we come not to distract
Your peace: look on our number; we bring no
Signs of stern war, no invasive force, to draw
Fear or suspicion, or your frowns upon us.
A handful of poor naked men we are,
Thrown on your coast, whose arms are only prayer,
That you would not be more unmerciful
Than the rough seas, since they have let us live
To find your charity."

Would you mark, at the same time, the high tone of supernatural authority with which they announced their purpose? Then hear the sequel:—

* Martyrologium Franciscanum. † Dante. ‡ l. 526.

“ ——— Know, great king, I have
 Commission for my stay. I came not hither
 Without command, legate from Him, before
 Whose angry breath the rocks do break and thaw ;
 To whose nod the mountains humble their proud heads ;
 The earth, the water, air, and heaven, are His ;
 And all the stars that shine with evening flames
 Show but their trembling when they wait on Him :
 This supreme King's command I have obey'd,
 Who sent me hither to bring you to Him,
 And this still wandering nation to those springs
 Where souls are everlastingly refresh'd ;
 Unto those gardens, whose immortal flowers
 Stain your imagin'd shades and blest abodes *.”

There is in truth no point of view in which the history of the middle ages appears more admirable, than when we attend to the prodigious ardour which continually impelled holy men to win beatitude, by suffering persecutions for justice in converting Pagan nations. The mere view of the relicks of five Franciscan martyrs, brought from Morocco by Don Pedro, infant of Portugal, made such an impression on St. Anthony of Padua, who was then at Coimbra, that he formed a resolution of shedding his blood in Africa for Christ. St. Boniface, chaplain of the emperor Otho III., and born of one of the most illustrious families, on entering a church dedicated under the invocation of St. Boniface the martyr, felt suddenly inflamed with a desire to imitate him. “ I am called Boniface,” said he ; “ why should not I also be a martyr ? ” From that moment he never ceased sighing after the happiness of dying for the faith. With these dispositions, having obtained permission from St. Romuald his superior, he proceeded to Prussia, where he preached to the idolaters, and thence to the frontiers of Russia, where he had his wish fulfilled, suffering death in 1009 from the barbarians, along with eighteen other Christians.

Towards the close of the middle ages the most distant regions of the old and new world witnessed the fruits of that heroic spirit of martyrdom which was fostered within the feudal castles and monasteries of Europe ; but at these we can only cast a glance in passing. What multitudes in the sixteenth century suffered persecutions for

* Shirley.

the faith in Japan, where Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and even the boys who used to serve at mass, were actually crucified; while innumerable persons of all conditions bore tortures with invincible constancy till death. The blessed Alphonso Navaret, of the order of St. Dominic, and Ferdinand, an Augustinian friar, were arrested while in the very act of preaching, and beheaded.

Among these martyrs of Japan was Father Charles Spinola, of that noble house of Genoa, who became a Jesuit at Nola, when his uncle Cardinal Spinola was bishop of that city. Desiring to shed his blood for Christ, he joined the missionaries for Japan in 1602, and suffered by fire on the second of September, 1622. His letter from a dungeon to his cousin Maximilian Spinola breathes all the fervour of the martyr. "O how sweet it is to suffer for Jesus Christ!" saith he; "I cannot find words to express what I feel since we are in prison. What happiness for me if at next Easter I may be permitted to sing in heaven with the blessed! Of the joy which I feel in this state I cannot give you the most remote idea."

How many martyrs again, during the same century, from among the Spanish clergy in the Brazils, who from first to last evinced the spirit of the primitive witnesses of Christ! How perfectly did the manners of these converters of nations resemble those of the Apostles who first diffused the light of the Gospel through the gentiles! In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries innumerable persons suffered martyrdom for the faith in China, amongst whom were many Jesuits and Dominican friars, who suffered tortures indescribable and death for the Christian religion. An instance of the calm premeditation with which these glorious confessors prepared for the fate which awaited them, may be witnessed in the letter which St. Francis Xavier wrote, after agreeing with the Chinese merchants who were to introduce him into Canton. "In this affair," he says, "I see two dangers almost inevitable: on the one hand, there is great reason to fear that the idolatrous merchant, having received the price of my passage, may throw me into the sea, or abandon me on some desert island; and, on the other, that the governor of Canton should resolve to make an example of me, to discourage all future strangers, making me either die in torture or condemning me to a perpetual

prison ; but so that I obey the voice of my Lord, which calls me, I count for nothing my liberty and my life *."

But there was another source of persecution, on account of the highest justice, during the middle ages, furnished by men who openly and professedly resisted the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It was in her second period, between the years 313 and 680, that the Church beheld the origin and rapid progress of Mahometanism, by resisting and enduring the cruelties, of which execrable superstition such multitudes of her children were to reap beatitude. In the year 632 Mahomet proposed his doctrine ; in 642 his followers laid waste Sicily ; in 717 they invaded Spain, of which they soon took possession ; in a short time they were masters of Asia, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Judæa, Rhodes, Greece, Thrace, Bulgaria, Illyria, Mysia, Pannonia, and a great part of Africa. In 875 they again invaded Campania, and devastated Italy. Finally, in 1453, after a sanguinary struggle, they seized Constantinople, which became their seat of empire. Such was the progress of this terrible persecution ; and if we demand in what condition were the Christians who witnessed it during all these ages, truly in words less than in tears should be the reply. We have had occasion to remark, in a former book, that it was the persecution of Christians in the East which led to the crusades. The master of the templars, Bertrand de Blancford, in his letter to king Louis VII., expressly styles the Turks "the persecutors of truth and faith †."

In fact, many of the heroic men, who sought to restrain them, became themselves victims, or rather sealed the glory of their enterprise by true martyrdom. St. Adjuteur, son of John, Seigneur de Vernon, and of Rosemonde de Blaru, after receiving a holy education from his mother, took arms in the crusade with the French knights, and, being made prisoner by the Saracens, endured every kind of cruel treatment rather than renounce his faith. St. Louis, in the memorable act of burying with his own hands the body of a crusader, applied to all who had fallen in resisting them, the epithet of martyr—"Allons enterrer les martyrs de Jésus Christ." Joinville says, that in consideration of the sufferings of that holy

* Bouhours, *Vie de S. F. X.* 11. 186.

† Ap. Brial, *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, tom. xvi. 38.

king, "one does not exalt him enough when one does not count him as a martyr." And it appears, from a circumstance related by the seneschal, that the Saracens themselves understood the motive of the Crusaders; for on one occasion they reminded their prisoners that they were only suffering persecutions for the sake of Him who suffered for them, and that they ought to be consoled by the remembrance of his example.

As we before remarked, it entered into the chivalrous mind of the middle ages to endeavour that all persecution for justice should cease throughout the world. The idea was assuredly generous, and, in a society so wonderfully subject to the domination of faith, perhaps less absurd than some may be disposed to think. But still, of course, as events demonstrated, the order of Divine Providence did not require that it should be realized, or productive of any other results beyond the admiration which must be ever due to heroic deeds of charity. But if this thought of the middle ages appear in history only in the light of a sublime speculation, there were other wheels in movement provided specifically to meet the dangers and sufferings of Christians, which led to positive results in strict accordance with that divine economy which ordains beatitude for those who suffer persecution on account of justice. To redeem the captives who languished in the dungeons of the Moors, to encourage to perseverance in their faith the Christians whom they had reduced to slavery, to procure spiritual and corporal assistance for the victims of their cruel persecution; such were the objects to which innumerable persons in Spain, Italy, France, and in the British islands, devoted their wealth, their genius, and their lives. The Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, whose founders were St. John of Matha, and St. Felix de Valois, possessed forty-three houses in England, fifty-two in Ireland, and nine in Scotland. On a former occasion we observed in relation to works of mercy, the deep interest inspired by every book relating to the origin and progress of these institutions; and here we should note, that respecting persecution on account of justice, the history of the order of our Lady of Mercy by the fathers of the same order*, and the accounts of the

* In fol. 1685, Amicus.

different voyages for the redemption of captives to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis by the Trinitarians *, contain a mine of most curious information, which can no where else be found.

In a monastery of the order of our Lady of Mercy in Spain, one saw represented, in a long series of paintings by Zurbaran, the different tortures and modes of death suffered by these fathers in the Moorish lands, which had been thus pictured from the testimony of eye-witnesses, as recorded in the archives of the house. Of some, the great renown had inclined most men to enquire their history, at which we can only glance in passing.

It would be long to recount the persecutions for the faith which were endured by St. Peter Nolasco, in the thirteenth century, and by the brethren of his order of Mercy, during their heroic labours in Algiers to convert the infidels and ransom the Christian slaves, while burning with such a holy desire of martyrdom.

St. Serapion, an Englishman, and one of the first disciples of St. Peter Nolasco, made two journeys, one to Murcia and the other to Algiers, to redeem captives. At Algiers, while detained as a hostage till full payment was made of the sum agreed upon, he converted and baptized many Mahometans. But his zeal cost him his life, in 1240, and Benedict XIII. declared him martyr in 1728, the fathers of the Redemption having esteemed him as such from the first, observing his festival on the fourteenth of November.

At Tarragona, the blessed Peter Armengol, of the same order, is honoured in an especial manner. After suffering many persecutions in Africa for the redemption of the faithful, he finished his course in the monastery of St. Mary of the Meadow. How many sufferings again were undergone by St. John of Matha, founder of the order of the Trinitarians, in the twelfth century, for the redemption of captives ! How many persecutions did he endure, exhorting the slaves to patience and constancy in their faith !

It was in the thirteenth century that St. Raymond Nonnatus was moved by the sufferings of the Christians to embrace the new order of our Lady of Mercy. For

* A Paris, 1721 ; à Rouen, 1731.

encouraging the captives in Algiers, and for converting and baptizing some Mahometans, he was condemned to be impaled ; but the sentence was commuted for a cruel bastinado ; but as he continued to exercise his ministry, his lips were bored with a red-hot iron, and his mouth closed with a padlock, the key of which was kept by the governor, and only given to the keepers when he was to eat. He was loaded with irons and cast into a dark dungeon, where he lay eight months, until his ransom was brought, and he was commanded by his general to return to Europe. Even when well received by the greedy governors, who longed to count the treasures they were laying at their feet for ransom, these holy monks, from the hour of their landing, were almost always exposed to the hisses, and insults, and blows of the populace*. Yet nothing could daunt or diminish their zeal.

St. Peter Paschal, a monk of the order of Mercy, who suffered death through his charitable zeal to redeem the Christian slaves, and to preach to the Moors, and who was murdered in Granada by the infidels at the foot of the altar while making his thanksgiving after having said mass, was descended from the ancient family of Paschal, which had given five martyrs to the Church.

Another class of devoted men, who often closed their labours in behalf of the persecuted slaves upon the Barbary coast by martyrdom, was that of the vicars apostolic in Algiers, who were always chosen from the congregation of St. Lazarus, since its establishment there by the zeal of St. Vincent de Paul. To the admirable constancy of these men amidst incessant dangers, all the religious missionaries bore witness. In 1683, Vacher, who then held that office, suffered death by being placed at a cannon's mouth by order of the dey Meze-morto ; and in 1688, his successor Montmasson obtained the crown of martyrdom by the same kind of death†. But above all, it was in the sufferings of the slaves, that the persecution produced an abundant harvest. In fact, the Church was almost daily gaining new confessors or martyrs, who, by some chance falling into

* Hist. de Mouley Ismaël, 16.

† Voyage de Alger et de Tunis en 1720, par les P. P. Maturins.

the hands of the Mahometans, chose slavery or death, rather than renounce their faith.

St. Leo, bishop of Bayonne in the ninth century, the apostle of the Basques, was thus martyred by Saracen pirates. St. Porcaire and five hundred monks were put to death by the same enemies in 731, when they attacked the abbey of Lerins, and slew the whole community one by one, each refusing to renounce Christ. What was the consternation in the abbey of Cluny one day in the tenth century, when a letter containing four lines arrived, to announce that St. Mayeul, the abbot, returning from Rome, had been seized by the Saracens of Fressinet, with a great troop of people, who had thought themselves safe in the company of such a holy man. The saint, who for himself desired martyrdom, but who trembled and wept for the fate of the poor people, of whose capture he was the occasion, used ever after to glory in the wound he received, while stretching out his hand to screen one of them, who was about to be pierced by a dart hurled from the top of a rock by one of the Saracens.

Down to the present century, the persecutions suffered on the Barbary coast and in Constantinople by the captives, equalled the sufferings of the primitive Christians condemned by pagans to the mines. The king of Morocco, at the suggestion of the Marabouts, caused some of his Christian slaves, while a monk of the order of the holy Trinity was negotiating in their favour, to be thrown into a den with lions. This tyrant, Mouley Ismaël, used to sacrifice multitudes of them with his own hand. If he found any of them resting from their labours, he used to wound or slay them; and the fathers of the Redemption record the names of many who thus perished*. It is said that he caused the death of more than six hundred slaves of the French nation alone, whom no tortures could prevail on to apostatize†. In 1702, a Neapolitan captain, having at first had the weakness to renounce the Christian name, repented so deeply that he went to the governor, and declared that, to repair his crime, he was ready to die for the faith. He received absolution from a monk disguised as a slave,

* Hist. du Règne de Mouley Ismaël, p. 156.

† Id. 173.

and then being placed alive upon a pile, expired in the flames. During some years, the slaves in Morocco were allowed to celebrate the four festivals of Easter, Christmas, the nativity of St. John, and that of the blessed Virgin, but on each occasion it was necessary to have the licence renewed; and, for demanding it, many of them suffered cruel bastinados, and even death. In 1690, the slaves deputed to ask leave to celebrate the feast of St. John received five hundred blows; and on the day of the festival, as some of them were not to be found at work, the king with his own hand slew François de Tuissy, who had a certain authority over them, and condemned all the rest to receive blows, and to work during three days and nights without ceasing. But to understand the horrors of this persecution, we should consult the writings of the monks of the different orders who were employed in redeeming them. The numbers whom they delivered were indeed prodigious, but how many remained in this bondage till their death! Meanwhile, the Christian slaves in the galleys at Constantinople were, if possible, in a more deplorable state, as no Latin monks were permitted to have access to them, though some fathers of the company of Jesus contrived to elude the law, and administer to them spiritual succour. Through the whole Turkish empire, every year added fresh supplies of victims. Innumerable French, Italian, and Spanish families, from their neighbourhood to the Mediterranean or Adriatic, or to the frontiers of the Moorish kingdoms, had members carried off, and from slavery and martyrdom sent to heaven. In one of the tales of Cervantes, a whole family, enjoying a party of pleasure in a garden on the sea-shore, is thus surprised and seized by a band of corsairs who had landed from two galleys, and escaped the observation of the sentinels who kept watch on the towers along the shore. Deeply affecting, wildly romantic, and not less faithful to historic truth, are the adventures furnished by corsairs of Africa to the old Spanish and Italian writers. In the lists of redeemed slaves published by the religious orders which had delivered them, we find enumerated persons of all conditions and ages, many of whom had been captured in their youth, and retained till old age had rendered them incapable of labouring in chains. Le Blanc was delivered in his eighty-second year, after

thirty-three years of slavery; Piqueline, aged sixty, had been a slave forty-five years; Dunic, of Ostend, only ten years of age, had been a slave eighteen months; Mary-Anne du Bourk was in her ninth year, and her servants said, that amidst the horror of their captivity, they owed to her courage and remonstrances, their resolution to die rather than fail in fidelity to God. In the palace of the doges at Venice, Leander Albertus remarked many solemn pictures of illustrious Venetians, who preferred dying by the hands of the infidels, to renouncing their faith. There he beheld amongst them the figures of Albano Armario, and of Marc Antonio Bragadini, and of many others. Innumerable were the glorious martyrs of Italy, when the Turks used to take cities in Calabria, and offer for the only condition of life the renouncement of Christ. Examples are given by Leander Albertus *, and by many of the old local historians, as by Antonio Galatea †.

In several provinces of Spain too, during many centuries, Christians had not to leave their homes or fall into corsairs' hands, by singular mischances, in order to suffer persecution for their faith from the Moors. Between the year 850 and 960, under Abderrahman II., Muhammed I., and Abderrahman III., violent persecutions raged. Torrents of blood, the blood of priests, monks, and laics, flowed over the land, and especially in Cordova, the seat of the Moorish power. Then was the holy Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, who has described as an eye-witness the sufferings of the martyrs, many of whom he encouraged to persevere, glorified with a martyr's crown. In the year 860, St. Perfect, a priest of Cordova, merely in consequence of his sermons to the Christians, was martyred by them. In 853, St. Colomba, a nun of the same city, was beheaded by them for professing herself a Christian before their tribunals. During the violence of the persecution in the year 850, Reccafrede, a bishop, through fear of displeasing the Moors, declared against the martyrs, and even caused many priests to be thrown into prison. Two years later, a great number of Christians received the crown. St. Eulogius, of a senatorian family of Cordova, a priest, in 859, was among the glorious martyrs who

* *Descriptio Italiæ*, 467. † *De Japiag. in Thes. Ital. Antiq.*

suffered for the faith from the hands of the Moors in that capital of their kingdom. His amiable mildness was united to evangelical zeal. With joy he exposed his life by espousing the cause of a young lady, *Leocritia*, of Moorish family, who, being a Christian, was persecuted for conscience sake; and the Almighty was pleased to reward his zeal with the purple crown of martyrdom. In fine, as in the history of the Pagan persecutions, we must observe the multitudes of holy apostolic men who suffered death from the hands of the Mahometans, for preaching the Gospel to them, as missionaries appointed for that purpose, and authoritatively sent. These were chiefly friars of the two families of Francis and Dominic. With what deep interest, while perambulating the cloisters of their religious houses on the continent, have I marked the old paintings representing the martyrdom of different brethren of their respective orders! How few among the strangers who ask admittance here, have ever even heard of such men or of such events! But open the martyrologies of the different orders, and there you will find, at least, sometimes in minute detail, the history of each, often containing episodes of the most affecting nature. Reading the *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, one is struck with amaze, at the number of friars martyred by the Turks and Moors, to whom they preached the Gospel, evincing that intrepidity and self-devotion, which in their seraphic founder appeared so marvellous to the sultan, that he sent him back under an escort to the camp of the crusaders, after recommending himself to his prayers.

Some of these persecuted missionaries, by means of the Church, have secured on earth a perpetual renown. Such are the five friars, Berardo, Pietro, Accursio, Ajuto, and Otho, charged by St. Francis, in 1219, to preach to the Moors, who were decapitated for the faith in Morocco, in 1220, whence their relics were ransomed and brought to Coimbra, where they still are found in the church of the Holy Cross. Such are again the seven friars, Daniel, Samuel, Angelo, Donulo, Leo, Nicholas, and Hugolin, who suffered the following year at Ceuta, for preaching Christ, whose beautiful letter, addressed to the Christian merchants of the suburbs, written in their dungeon, forms such a precious relic for the veneration of all ages. St. John de Prado, a Spanish Franciscan, is

another example which, in consequence of the bull of Benedict XIII., is familiar to the ears of the faithful. This holy friar preaching in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, by order of the congregation of the Propaganda, experienced all the fury of the Mahometans, imprisonment, chains, cruel bastinados, and other tortures, and, in fine, consummated his sacrifice by fire in 1636. The blessed John, of Perugia, and Pietro de Saso-Ferrato, of the same order, having been sent into Spain to preach to the Moors, were beheaded for fulfilling their mission, by order of Agoze, king of Valencia, in 1230. Gentil, born of an illustrious family of Matelica, in the marshes of Ancona, after being twice guardian of Alvernia, obtained permission to preach in the east. He baptized more than fifteen thousand Persians, and finally received the palm of martyrdom on his journey to Mount Sinäi.

St. Joseph, of Leonissa, a Capuchin friar, being sent in 1587 by his order to Constantinople, on the mission of Pera, converted many apostates, of whom one was a pacha. After being twice imprisoned by the Mahometans, he was condemned to death. They suspended him on a gibbet by one foot and one hand, and left him in that state for a long time. The sultan, however, commuted his sentence to exile, and he was taken down. He landed at Venice, and after an absence of two years, returned to his convent of Leonissa, in the states of the Church, where he died in 1612.

But to retrace our steps to earlier times. We have so often had occasion to remark the many points on which the history of Europe in the middle ages requires to be rewritten, that in noticing a fresh instance of the error of popular opinions resulting from a study of the modern works, it seems hardly worth while to repeat the observations respecting that blindness of history as now conveyed, and to lament again its old accustomed ways. In a former book we had occasion to refute the charge of intolerance adduced against the middle ages, in regard to the treatment of the Jews. It remains in this place to assume other ground, and show briefly, from the testimony of historians, that Christians during these ages suffered frequently a real persecution for their faith, from these very Jews whom they are accused of having oppressed, and against whom

unquestionably they were occasionally inflamed with a spirit of cruel retaliation. And here, not to glance at the conduct of the latter throughout the vast regions of the east, where, as at the present day, they frequently took occasion to persecute their fellow-sufferers, either by direct violence, or by instigating against them the Mahometan authorities; or at their conduct in Spain, where many of them were the ministers and generals of the Arabic kings*, and where, during the Moorish domination, others of their nation opened the gates of more than one Christian city to the Arabs†; but confining our observations to what passed commonly in the very centre of Christendom amongst the European nations, we find evidence to demonstrate that the position of the Jews in regard to the Christian society in general, however deficient in point of dignity, was one of great influence and power, enabling several individuals amongst them to oppress the people, and often secretly to counteract the exertions of the Church in propagating religion; while isolated and unavowed deeds of darkness, emanating from the mysticism of night, revealed from time to time to the terrified population the malignant hatred with which their faith was regarded by those to whom they had often rashly, and sometimes through necessity, subjected themselves.

"Persecution by the Jews is not wanting to us," says Bellarmin, "for by usuries the Hebrews every where injure the faithful, and where they can, they impose upon the Christians and deceive them‡." We have seen the horror with which the sin of usurious oppression was regarded in the middle ages. "A usurer by the ancient laws was to walk round the church on three successive Sundays, holding in his hand the holy water, barefooted, and with a Jew's hat on his head§." If such laws still prevailed, we should witness singular processions now; but in the middle ages among Christians, these were rare examples. In 1478, a certain Francis de Pizicardis, a great and cruel usurer, was buried in the church of St. Francis, in Placentia. "It happened,"

* Levinsohn's *Conversat.* 84.

† Roderic, Toletanus, de Reb. Hisp. iii. 20.

‡ De Gemitu Columb. ii. 4.

§ Michelet's *Origines du Droit*, 394.

says a contemporary writer, "to rain torrents during many days; till a report spread through the city, that it would never cease as long as the said body was in holy ground. The young men of the city in a body, as if convoked by the bishop, went to the said church, burst the gates, dug up the body, and dragged it by a cord through all the streets of the city; and as they passed the house of one old woman, she ran out and insulted it, saying, 'Give me back my eggs,' for she had given him two fresh eggs every day, interest for a ducat which she owed him. At length it was dragged out of the city, suspended from a certain willow, and finally thrown into the Po. And strange to relate, adds the quaint annalist, the rain then ceased*."

Usury was the sleepless sin: "its master sleeping," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "it sleeps not, but always mounts, and increases." "The usurer who remained at home quietly seated, and despising the labours of those who took up the cross for the love of Christ, was seen, it was said, in visions, at the time when the cross was preached in the diocese of Utrecht, receiving in hell a seat of fire†." Meanwhile, however, he enjoyed a position in this world which his heart most coveted.

We have seen elsewhere, that these Hebrew usurers were the bailiffs of many of the feudal nobility, in which capacity they could exercise an almost uncontrolled tyranny over the poor. Often, too, they were closely allied to the rulers of states, some of whom were but faint sticklers for the faith. "We of the court," says the Franciscan Antonio de Guevara, in a tone of bitter irony, "we of the court are so embarrassed, that we have constantly to write epistles ad Hebræos, though not exactly like that of the apostle." If it were so at the court of Charles V., what must it have been under a Henry II. in England, or a Philip-le-Bel in France? Assuredly these Hebrews were not always the persecuted. It is acknowledged by themselves that the kings of Poland at one time showed them more favour than they did their Christian subjects, and that the Christians in Poland were first induced to

* *Diarium Parmense*, ap. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xxii.

† *Illust. Mirac.* lib. ii. 7, 8.

look upon them with jealousy, in consequence of the superior estimation in which the Polish rulers and governors held them *." But let us attend to what occurred generally. Facts best will witness if I speak the truth. Hear then what Peter of Blois says :

" If a bishop or priest be killed, the crime is winked at ; while, for killing a Jew, the most exact justice is exercised. Of all the multitude concerned in the murder of blessed Thomas, not one lost an ear ; but when the wife of Aaron the Jew was killed, the whole earth shuddered at the exquisite punishments inflicted upon the authors and counsellors of the act †."

The tract of Agobard addressed to Louis-le-Débonnaire " *De Insolentia Judæorum*," conveys a curious picture of the relation in which that people stood to the Christians amongst whom they dwelt. To the emperor he says, " Gerricus and Frederic and Everard came here to Lyons, your envoys, though not in your interest, but in that of another ; and they showed themselves terrible to the Christians, and mild to the Jews, especially at Lyons, where they caused a persecution of the Church. These envoys said that the Jews were dear in your eyes."

Agobard declares that the persecution he has suffered from those who favoured the Jews, has arisen solely from his having told the Christians in his sermons that they ought not to sell their serfs to the Jews, nor permit the Jews to sell Christians to the Moors in Spain, nor to have Christian servants for themselves, lest the latter should be compelled by them to keep their Sabbath, to work on Sundays, and to eat meat with them in Lent. " While I was writing this tract," he says, " there has arrived here a man who escaped from Spain, flying from Cordova, who says, that he had been stolen by a certain Jew at Lyons, twenty-four years ago, while a boy, and sold. He made his escape this year with another who had been stolen at Arles by another Jew, six years before. We have heard also, that others have been stolen and sold at Lyons this present year."

Was it not then, we may ask, a persecution on account of justice, when wretches could be found, as

* Levinsohn's *Conversat.* 92.

† *De Instit. Episcopi.*

now, who bargained for their son or daughter, as did corsairs for their slaves.

— “ O avarice !

What canst thou more, who hast subdued our blood
So wholly to thyself? they feel no care
Of their own flesh * ! ”

In a letter to Nibridrius, Agobard speaks of the evils and immoralities arising to Christian servants from their intercourse with the Jews, who often endeavoured to corrupt them; to the results of which perversion, Dante perhaps makes allusion, where he says,

— “ when by evil lust enticed,

Remember ye be men, not senseless beasts;
Nor let the Jew, who dwelleth in your streets,
Hold you in mockery † . ”

Nevertheless Agobard was animated by that true Catholic spirit which desired to defend the Jews from violence, whenever the sufferings of the people from them led to an explosion, or the policy of kings to a legalized attack. “ Notwithstanding,” he says, “ these things, since the Jews live amongst us, we ought not to be malignant towards them, nor be adverse to their life, or health, or riches, but we should observe the limits ordained, and clearly laid down by the Church, to teach us only how to be cautious and humane towards them † . ”

This and nothing more was meant by St. Hilary, when, as Agobert observes, he teaches us to refrain from social intercourse with Jews. St. Cæsarius of Arles, with thirty-five bishops and vicars assembled in the name of the Lord for the defence of Catholic truth, ordained that all clerks and laymen should avoid the banquets of the Jews, and avoid entertaining them—and Priscus, bishop of Lyons, with other bishops, decreed that no Christian should presume to partake of banquets with the Jews, on pain of excommunication. Now, in fact, it was the kind of men against whom these synodical decrees were directed, who were the real persecutors of the Jews by

* Dante, *Purg.* 20.

† *Par.* v.

‡ *De Insolentia Judæorum.*

being utterly careless of their spiritual interests, provided they could reap advantage from their services; while the Church, without any regard to what might expose her to sufferings, was constantly interposing to promote them. The position of the Jews was often virtually and even legally independent of the Christian society, to such a degree as to interfere with the most sacred obligations. Not merely after acquiring vast possessions could they defy the clergy, who demanded the tithes which had been paid by all former proprietors, but it appears that the clergy were forbidden by law to exercise their ministry in favour of persons who might desire it, while dependent on the Jews. Against this persecution Agobard raised his voice. "Every man," he says, "is the creature of God, and though a servant to one man, he belongs more to God, who created him in the womb, and brought him forth to the light of this life, and preserved him in it, than to him who gives him twenty or thirty solidi for his corporal service. Therefore I conclude that we are bound to admit the pagan servants of the Jews to baptism, when they desire it, whatever the master of the palace or the law of the emperor may say to the contrary; for beyond all doubt a servant, while he owes the service of his limbs to his carnal master, owes the religion of his mind to his Creator alone:" thus writes the prelate to Adalard, Wala, and Helisacharus. Nor can we omit mention either of those dark mysterious deeds, scattered here and there through the history of the middle ages, the reality of which, as we remarked in a former book, was placed beyond all doubt by calm and minute investigations; deeds truly horrible, by means of which many children of the faithful were called to a participation in the lot of those blessed innocents, who, as the Church sings, are so justly called the flowers of the martyrs, springing up out of the cold of infidelity, as if the first gems of the Church. These poor Christian boys, crucified and bled to death by some perfidious Jews, were justly counted among blessed martyrs. The instances at Mestare between Chalcedon and Antioch, as related by Socrates *; of St. Hugo at Lincoln; of St. Richard in France, in the time of Philip Augustus; of St. William at Norwich; of St. Wernher at Wammenrat,

* 16. lib. vii.

near Baccarac, on the Rhine, in 1287; and of St. Simon at Trent, were fully authenticated; proving, not indeed that a whole nation was guilty, or that its rites and learned men required crimes, but that amongst a people, of which every individual may in a great measure do as he likes *, the same spirit which in the beginning raged against our divine Lord could still find breasts to harbour it, however contrary it might be to the Scriptures or to the Talmud, or however its fruits might seem incredible to those who sought to disprove its existence by the force of reasoning alone.

But we must not remain longer here. It suffices to have shown, in opposition to the reasoning of those who would dissolve all difference between Peter and Iscariot, that the Jews, in ages of faith, with the Pagan and the Moor, have put our ancestors to proof of constancy. O it is not by now enrolling them with the descendants of the men who followed Richard to the Holy Land, sunk as they are below the types of usury; it is not by constituting them judges in these tribunals, where, thanks to lords and commons, they may sit with Pontius Pilate on Good Friday, that you can, as the Church desires, either cause the plenitude of the whole world to pass into children of Abraham and into the Israelitic dignity †, or emancipate and exalt in an intellectual sense the race who lost Jerusalem.

Having now cast a rapid glance at the sufferings of Christians from the Arians and Mahometans, two of the great persecutions of the Church after the fall of the Roman empire, before we proceed to a consideration of the third and last of the visitations of Almighty vengeance, which commenced in the sixteenth century, it will be necessary to observe some other sources of suffering for the faith, that could yield the seeds of beatitude during the intervening period of the middle ages, to those for whom the angels in the skies were waiting. Although the Church in general was then delivered from the attacks of false teachers, there were still found traces of the danger from time to time, as if to verify the divine sentence, that heresies must be.

Towards the end of the fourth century Manichæism, in the east, a perennial poison, had reached the farthest west,

* Levinsohn's Conversations, 22.

† Prayer on Holy Saturday.

where, under the form of Priscillianism, it struck such root in Spain, that at the end of the sixth it was not extirpated. In the seventh it emerged through Constantine from Syrian Armenia in the Paulician sect, spread in the eighth through Asia Minor, and possessed Byzantine Cæsars. In the middle of the ninth age its arrogance gave rise to a battle of almost an hundred years' duration, which ended in its overthrow. Then, after being fostered in some Thracian valleys, it again came forth under the name of Bogomilens, and in the middle of the eleventh, under that of the Messalians or Enthusiasts, it had spread by missions through Dalmatia, till about the year 1000 it reached Italy, where chiefly it took root in Milan, under the name of Passagini and Bulgarian, or, as it styled itself, of Catharan or Puritan,—titles which it exchanged as it advanced for Pataren, Beghard, and Lollard. France then received the seed in secret, and reaped a bitter harvest, when suddenly in the year 1017 it shot forth at Orleans: thence spreading through other provinces, it seized on Aquitaine, and grew so terrible that in 1030 a synod in Toulouse was held against it: through the twelfth century it grew in might, till at length it caused the bloody war of the Albigenses*; when that impure sect persecuted the Catholics by open violence, ravaging Languedoc with bodies of six or eight thousand men, pillaging churches and monasteries, and murdering the clergy, under the sanction of the count of Toulouse, that execrable prince who left his subjects at the mercy of an army of assassins. But this insidious element of persecution was not confined to France. In 1052, returning on its steps, it broke forth in the region of Goslar, and then in the twelfth century by the lower Rhine passed over to England. Later, in the peasants' war, and with the Anabaptists, it gave traces of vitality; and in France, since the year 1830, many of its roots were traced †.

Among the elect of God, who from martyrdom by the hands of Manichæan heretics passed to beatitude, were many friars of St. Dominick, who sought to convert them to the light of Christ.

It was on the sixth of April, 1252, that St. Peter Mar-

* Goerres. *Die Christliche Mystik*, IIId. 30. Muratori, *Antiq. It. Diss.* lx.

† Id.

tyr received his crown on the road between Como and Milan. He had long been an object of aversion to the Manichæans, from the success of his preaching; but when sent with authority to enquire into the disseminators of their principles, they conspired his death, and hired the assassins, who slew him on his way.

The blessed Humbert, alluding to the preaching of St. Dominick, in the province of Narbonne, says that "he was wholly devoted to the salvation of souls by preaching, and that he suffered with all his heart many affronts, ignominies, and tortures, for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is recorded of him that he preferred preaching at Carcasson to any other place, on account of the contradictions and insults he was sure to meet with there.

The barbarous atrocities committed on the faithful by these miscreant bands left so profound an impression on the people's minds, that even at the present day they are remembered, as can be instanced by a legend, which the reader must receive as it was told to me while journeying in the south. Lomenie, who for his crimes was justly named rather Ignominy, came to a convent on his visitation, where the mother abbess evaded lodging him in the visitor's apartment. Questioned severely as to the cause of such neglect, that venerable lady hinted, by dark broken words, that no one with a conscience unreleased could rest securely there. Laughter at her fears, and stern commands to have the rooms prepared on his return from the chace, cost the bold bad man no scruple. The day was passed in the forest, chasing the gaunt wolf, and at night returning, the company drank deep before they separated. Alone in the chamber of his choice, sleep and confidence fled from him; the miserere smote on his ear; he heard ever and anon a sigh of agony, and "Hast no food for me, my sisters?" uttered in a half-smothered voice, which shook his unnerved frame with terror. At the first streak of morning light he rose, called his attendant minister, and told him how he had passed the night. "It is a plot, my lord, of these veiled sisters to affright your grandeur. Let architects be summoned, who may detect it." Before tierce was sung, the man of art arrived; but all that could be discovered was ineffectual. Behind one wall was the convent church; through the others, which only concealed open galleries, no voice could reach. Then, with an air of more assurance,—“It

was the natural effect, my lord, of wine and over-wearied limbs," said he who played the master of the sport ; "this day let our course be shortened, and our evening mirth more moderate." "Rightly suggested," replied the irreverent visitor : "we had thought to leave this convent instantly ; but let it not be said that we could give such heed to women's tales." That day they hunted, but less joyfully than before. On their return constrained merriment but ill concealed the gloom which hung over the evening meal. Night again drew over the convent its sable curtain : the wretch was a second time alone : he slept ; but with a sudden start awoke. The penitential strain, the moans, and sad complaint of pining famine were more audible than before ; till at length, by a faint beam from the far casement of that vast chamber, he saw the figure of a nun, emaciated beyond all seeming of the flesh we wear, and with a thong placed in her jaws, through which the words found broken utterance. The horrid sight seemed to give him an hysteric strength : he rushed to the door, and he who received him fainting in his arms was the attendant minister, who had been watching without. None besides those two heard aught. The vision was not told. The visitor departed, as he came, impenitent ; but he who till then had followed him more as a boon companion than a priest, had received the dart of heaven in his soul ; and in a cloister of that neighbouring city, to which the next day he fled, lives still a man of sanctity to vouch the tale. Years had elapsed since this event, when builders, who were employed on scaffolding within the church, discovered, immediately behind the visitor's apartment, in a niche of the choir, too deep for any eye to pierce it from below, a skeleton, with wood infixed between the jaws ; and then the records of the house were searched, and it was found that it had of old been pillaged by the Albigenses, from whom all had fled but one poor sister, who had remained as was supposed in safe concealment. but who was never on their return heard of more. Such was the tale ; let those object to it who will ; but I have chosen to relate it, being in the vein of Froissart, who loved to chronicle all narratives, however wild, which brave knights had recounted to him in foreign lands. Let us, however, return to the domain of history.

This would be the place, if we had time, to behold the

grand and solemn figure of Simon de Montford, who, in the spirit of that devoted chivalry of which I lately spoke, came nobly forward to defend the Catholics and the cause of truth, as far as driving back the material obstacles which opposed its reign. But as recent works of the best stamp have made this name familiar to all who study history, it is needless for us to pursue it now. There remains yet abundant matter to occupy us before entering on the terrible drama of the sixteenth century, which closes all.

CHAPTER V.

“*DIXIT Dominus : Sermones mei, quos dedi in os tuum, non deficient de ore tuo ; et munera tua accepta erunt super altare meum.*” These solemn words, which form the introit of the Mass of the blessed martyr, Pope St. Clement, may be imagined graven over the portal through which we now must pass to witness those who obeyed and verified them.

So far we have seen the sources of beatitude to sufferers in ages of faith, furnished by the persecution of men who were without the Church. The most abundant springs to refresh the divine garden remain to be visited ; and of these the first we meet with on the page of history is the opposition of wicked Christians to the good, who endeavoured to persuade them to reform their lives.

It is a perilous thing to attempt to stem the tide of passion swelling in the breasts of men, who say in their hearts, There is no God. Of the dangers indeed attending merely an external reform of manners, the Pagan world had not been left without experience. Ulpian, the minister of Alexander Severus, a friend of the laws and of the people, endeavouring to reform the army, was sacrificed to its fury. The emperor Probus, because he consulted the interests of mankind more than those of the army, hoping to establish universal peace, for expressing that hope was slain. Pertinax, in consequence of his zeal to reform the corrupted state, was murdered. Majorian endeavouring to reform the people, both civil and military officers were exasperated against him, since they

all derived some advantage from the abuses which he sought to suppress: he by constraint abdicated, and within four days died. It would be long to enumerate instances; nor could any other result be expected, even when the empire had become Christian; since, within the Church itself, the same elements of persecution must always exist, to excite many against those who would move forward the standard of Christ in opposition to that of Lucifer. There was no reason for supposing that the consequences would be different, or that the old cry, as we hear it chanted during the Passion, would not be resumed: "*Dixerunt impii: Opprimamus virum justum, quoniam contrarius est operibus nostris.*"

Let us hear St. Augustin: "There is a crowd of men, profligate, most wicked, who cherish their sins, who, turning vices into custom, lose even shame. Such is the multitude of these men, that the body of Christ, placed amongst them, scarcely can dare to reprehend what it is not compelled to admit; and it thinks it a great matter if it can preserve the integrity of its innocence, lest either it should commit that which through custom it does not dare to blame; or, if it should dare, the reprehension and vociferation of those who live ill, should more easily break forth than the free voice of those who live justly *."

Against this criminal compliance of tepid Christians the holy doctor raises his voice, and shows that such acquiescence with the custom of life is incompatible with their most sacred obligations; for thus he proceeds: "You do not suffer persecution? You do not wish to live piously in Christ! Do you wish to prove whether this be true? Begin to live piously in Christ. What is to live piously in Christ? It is to feel what the Apostle felt: *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?* The infirmities of others, the scandals of others, were persecutions to him. Are they wanting now? They more abound in those who heed them. Begin therefore to live piously, and you will desire the wings of the dove to fly away and remain in the desert; for amidst the multitude there must be found evil men, whom we must love, reprove, chasten, excommunicate, and with love separate from ourselves †."

Then, as if describing the condition of the faithful in

* In Ps. lii.

† In Ps. liv.

these latter days, he continues to show the necessity of not appearing to make slight of the errors of men who have broken unity. "Save me," said the Psalmist, "*ab his qui appropinquant mihi*. I can easily be on my guard against those who are far off, but not so easily against him who says, 'I am a Christian; in many things I am with you. In baptism I am with you: in reading the Gospel I am with you: in celebrating the feasts of the martyrs I am with you: in frequenting the solemnities of Easter I am with you; but you are not altogether with me. In schism you are not with me: in heresy you are not with me: in many things with me, in few not with me; but these few are greater than all the rest in which you are with me *.'" "*Tota die verba mea abominabantur*. It is even so; as you have found by experience. Speak truth; preach truth; announce Christ to Pagans; announce the Church to heretics; announce salvation to all; they will contradict; they will abominate your words †." "*Coronemus nos rosis antequam marcescant*. What more delicate, more gentle! Could you expect from this suavity, crosses and swords? Yet if any one teach them, he finds them thorns with which he will be pierced ‡; if any one reprove them, he will hear with threats and defiance, *Recede a nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus*."

All this is taught by the great poet of the ages of faith; for when saying that old fame reports the herd of Fiesole in the world for blind, covetous, envious, and proud, adding,

"—— Look to it well;
Take heed thou cleanse thee of their ways;"

he adds,

"But that ungrateful and malignant race
Will for thy good deeds show thee enmity.
Nor wonder; for amongst ill-savour'd crabs
It suits not the sweet fig-tree lay her fruit §."

To expose themselves to persecution of this kind, however, the Catholics of the middle ages regarded themselves as bound by strict obligation; and consequently in almost every page of their history we find a recurrence

* In Ps. liv. † In Ps. lv. ‡ In Ps. lii. § Hell. xv.

of the same facts, attesting what they suffered. "Necessity," says St. Augustin, "is the mother of all human actions. I do not speak of crimes, which are not to be counted amongst human actions. Take away litigators; where will be the advocates? take away wounds and diseases; what will the physician cure *?" Similarly St. Ambrose says,—“Take away the combats of the martyrs, and you have taken away their crowns,—tolle cruciatus, tulisti beatitudines;” or, as St. Jerome says, “Tolle tyrannos; ubi martyres erunt?” Tyrants therefore were still found; kings and feudal lords were not wanting, who acquitted themselves well of the part they were permitted to act in company with the elect of God; and, as we shall see before the end of this history, they were found in no country more frequently than in our own, where was still verified the old experience, “*Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum*,” according to the expression of St. Jerome and the opinion of the Roman world. Such were the men described by prophecy of old. “The princes of the nations, who have dominion over the beasts which are on the earth; who play with the birds of heaven; who heap up treasures of silver and of gold; in which they trust, and there is no end of their acquisitions †.”

How were such men to be approached with impunity? There was but one method; as the prince of Piedmont pointed out to Mary de Medicis, who enquired how she might regain the favour of Louis XIII. her son: “Love, truly and sincerely, whatever he loves. These two words contain the law and the prophets.” Therefore there must be words of compliance, words of praise, words of encouragement for these men, often so well known to the just as cholerick and bloody. “I was reported unto him,” says Gardener, speaking of Henry VIII., “that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men’s gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words;” that is, who were ready at every gust of his passion to reply,—

“Sir, you shall have revenge, revenge the joy
Of flesh and blood, life and delight of nature,
The poor man’s luxury, and the rich man’s bath,
Above all wealth, sir ‡.”

* In Ps. lxxxiii.

† Baruch, iii.

‡ Shirley.

Sycophants! like so many of the heathen philosophers, ready to flatter a tyrant and defend a parricide, even when they lamented secretly his crimes, as when Tacitus says, "*Et mœrens Burrus ac laudans.*" If such then are the conditions, the sole conditions of favour with so many of the great, and indeed with the people often and the whole world collectively, what are those persons to expect who know that, like the holy baptist, their mouth should be as a sharp sword, while raising their voice for truth, for the oppressed, for the freedom of the Church, for the interests of the people, for the honour and happiness of all? Not human favour assuredly, but eternal beatitude, if they discharge their duty, suffering persecution in this life on account of justice. O how magnificent, how imposing is the history of Catholic ages, in regard to the calm undaunted mind which formed such anticipations, and beheld their accomplishment!

The Mass of St. John the Baptist, and indeed the office of every martyr, was a preparatory lesson which most of the faithful knew by heart. Each felt interiorly strengthened by hearing these words of the introit,— "*Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum, et non confundebar: et meditabar in mandatis tuis, quæ dilexi nimis. Bonum est confiteri Domino; et psallere nomini tuo altissime.*" "When you approach any one," said the rule, "let the fear of the Lord be in your heart, and guard your mouth that you may return to your place in peace*." "*Nihil equidem vobis adulatorium scripsisse me recolo, nec sum olei venditor:*" such is the boast of Peter of Blois, writing to Henry II. †

There was a chivalrous sincerity in the spirit of the middle ages which accorded well with the desire of beatitude by giving faithful counsel, and suffering, in consequence, persecution, or at least that loss of personal advantage which the Greeks expressed by saying, *κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνόν*. Thus John of Salisbury praises and urges that Catonian precept,

"Cumque mones aliquem, nec se velit ipse moneri,
Si tibi sit carus, noli desistere cœptis ‡."

"There are friendships of glass, which can be broken,"

* S. Antonii Serm.

† Pet. Bles. Epist. ii.

‡ Joan. Sarish. Epist. lxxv.

says Brunetto Latini, "and there are friendships of iron, which never hend." In regard to the former, Cicero observes, "*Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae; sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens, præcipitem amicum ferri sinit. Igitur et monere et moneri proprium est veræ amicitiae.*" Such were the rules of friendship in ages of faith, when each free monitor would say with the philosopher, "*Non amo illum, nisi offendero **;" or with Prometheus, that he would tell the plain truth, not with riddles and mystery,

———— ἀλλ' ἀπλῶ λόγῳ,
ὥσπερ εἰκαῖον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα.

Thus the friend of the middle ages had often occasion to practise that high virtue which was so essential to the counsellor of state, to the bishop, and to the priest who guided souls. All were able to bear to themselves a testimony like that of Peter of Blois. They had never flattered; they had never sold oil; for why, thought they, should truth faint at the name of greatness? Thus Sir Thomas More told his judges that "he candidly confessed he always told the king his opinion respecting his second marriage, as his conscience dictated to him; that this dictate of his conscience he was neither inclined to conceal from his highness, nor ought he in duty to have done so; and that so far was he from thinking himself guilty of treason on this account, that, on the contrary, had he basely flattered him against his own conscience, and not uttered the truth as he thought, then might he worthily have been accounted a most wicked subject, and a perfidious traitor to God and his king." Such was the testimony that they could bear to themselves; but to possess that power, what shall we say of the sufferings they had to endure? It is true, as we observed in the beginning, during the supernatural ages included in this history, there were exceptions presented to all former rules drawn from the experience of mankind. If it was the spirit of the manners which then prevailed to give free utterance to just thoughts, it was no less characteristic of them to bear admonition meekly. We read that when St. Bernardin was a student in the schools of

* Seneca, Epist. xxv.

Sienna, where he would never suffer a single improper word to be dropped in his company without the severest reproof, that the most dissolute were kept in check by him ; so that whenever they saw the pious youth coming, they would break off, saying, "Hush ! here comes Bernardin." In fact, boys, and even children, might then discharge with impunity the office of admonishing the unjust. "At Lisbon," says Berlaymont, "it was the custom to explain the catechism not in churches but in the streets. A certain lad, who frequented this instruction, hearing a person swear, ran towards him, and on his bended knees said, 'I beseech you, swear not ; for it is not a light sin.' The man called after him as he went back, and asked him his name, and who were his parents, and when the boy gave no answer, 'You are not a boy,' he said, 'but an angel of God, who have given me such salutary counsel, and henceforth I will swear no more *.'" But we are not left to cite such puerile examples.

We read of St. Henry, that "through affection for St. Ambrose, the freedom of whose tongue he loved, the emperor turned out of his way to visit Milan †." Of this love for a free tongue we have many traces in the annals of the middle ages. The chronicles of St. Denis are indeed themselves a monument to prove its existence in a long succession of princes ; for, as Michelet remarks, "These monks, who received so many marks of favour from the great, were the authors of a history which freely and justly censured them when they were in fault, as in their conduct at Agincourt ; a history to which it would be very happy," he says, "if a parallel could be found for impartiality among modern historians ;" and the latest editor of this great collection, after observing that from the first words to the explicit, it is a work of perfect sincerity, remarks that it reflects credit on the princes of the state who admitted its continuance. "Kings," he says, "have often encouraged historians, and permitted courageous writers to relate the events of their reign without betraying the truth ; but to accept the sentence, generally very severe, which the ancient annalists pronounced upon each of their predecessors, to tolerate the permanent existence of a tribunal which me-

* *Paradisus Puerorum*, xi. 21.

† *Adelbold. Episc. Traject. Vit. S. Henrici Imp.*

naced them with the same severity; above all, not to attempt to weaken their decisions by creating judge against judge, apologies against censures,—that is what was done by our kings of France in countenancing the great chronicles of St. Denis.”

Generally, in fact, one must now feel astonishment on observing the bold uncompromising style of the writers of the middle ages, when alluding to the enemies of the great. With what eloquence does Bartholomew de Neocastro describe the impiety of the French king in Sicily! “King Charles,” he exclaims, “perhaps blinded by pride, you have thought that God, who created heaven and earth, and other creatures, did not create kings; or that He has no power over them. Do you suppose that the Lord of strength will not punish those who rage against his elect *?” The best subject would speak thus.

But while honour is thus freely given to those to whom it is due, let us not shut our eyes to the facts recorded on almost every page of our history, attesting the sufferings, on account of justice, which holy men brought upon themselves by reproving sinners with a free language, and exercising their just authority, whether to restrain kings, or nobles, or the multitude; for reproofs were administered to all. In this category the clergy, as was to be expected, take the lead.

The tower of the bishop of Valence, if we credit the old chronicles, had a mysterious influence attached to it, in consequence of which no watcher could rest on it by night. If the wish of many kings and great men of the earth could have been realized, there would have been no watchers, either by day or night, from any of the towers of those who had to keep a look-out for the Church of God and for the welfare of the people. We hear of no such tradition attached to any feudal towers of the secular power. All these, without exception, were to be defended by the *guet de nuit*, in which the peasants of the surrounding country were constrained to serve, as the records of the ancient tribunals attest, and often after suffering every kind of vexation and injustice †. Happily for mankind, however, all things on earth were not exactly accordant with the desires of the impious.

* Hist. Siciliæ, cap. xlix.

† Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 193.

There were men to keep incessant watch for the inmates of the holy city in ages of faith, when the world saw accomplished the desire of the wise, "*Si longa est manus regis, longior debet esse manus episcopi* *." Hear how Alcuin writes to Edilhard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Remember always that your mouth ought to be the trump of God, and your tongue to all a herald of salvation. Be a shepherd, not a hireling; a glorious soldier of Christ, not a vile apostate; a father and preacher, not a flatterer. It is better to fear the Lord than man, to please God than to fawn upon man. What is a flatterer, but an insidious enemy? He destroys both himself and his hearer; *isti sunt qui consuunt pulvillos sub omni cubito*. Why should you fear a man on account of the sword,—you, who have received the key of the kingdom from Christ? Recollect that He suffered for you, and fear not to speak in his behalf. Through love for you, He hung upon the cross, transfixed with nails; and will you, seated on the throne of your dignity, through fear of man be silent? Not so, brother; not so. If you should suffer persecution for the word of God, what is there more blessed? If you reprove a delinquent, and at your admonition he should correct himself, for you there will be a reward with God, and to himself from God salvation. If he should hate you for reproving him, for him there will be damnation, and for you beatitude †."

The prospect of dangers and difficulties might cause holy men moments of discouragement, when they would complain, like Peter of Blois writing to Pope Innocent III., and saying, "O how much more of quietness and safety should I have enjoyed if I had remained hidden, instead of being raised to the archdeaconry of London, a city containing forty thousand inhabitants and a hundred and twenty churches †!" But, on the whole, they shrank not from the burthen; they knew that they were called to exercise the authority with which heaven intrusted them, not alone by the canons of their holy order but by the one voice of sufferers, who looked to them for a refuge from an oppression against which they alone could impose a shield. "The word of the Lord was not

* Petr. Blesius, *De Instit. Episc.*

† *Ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq. Rom.* 11.

‡ *Epist. cli.*

to be tied in their mouths, nor was human fear in them to take away the spirit of liberty," as Eleanor, queen of England, reminds Pope Cælestine, when she implored him to procure the deliverance of King Richard *. "The cross of Christ," said that princess, "excels the eagles of Cæsar, the sword of Peter that of Constantine, and the apostolic chair the imperial throne. But you will say," she continues, and her expecting the objection from that quarter should be noticed, "that this power is committed to you over souls, not bodies. Be it so. Certes it is sufficient for us if you bind the souls of them who hold my son bound in prison. You can free my son, if the fear of God overcome human fear †." So in his letter to the archbishop of Rheims, desiring that the alms taken from the brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem by the duke of Louvain be restored to them, Pope Alexander III. adds, "We who ought more strictly to coerce with the sword of ecclesiastical severity noble men and powerful persons who seek to oppress others, and especially the poor of Christ, command your fraternity by apostolic letters to exhort and admonish the said duke to make speedy restitution, and, if he should refuse, to bind him by the bond of excommunication ‡."

The vigilance of the sovereign pontiffs, whatever sorrows it might cost them, was always exemplary. The assassination of an obscure citizen, committed in the city of Rheims, is enough to draw a letter from Pope Alexander III. to the shepherd of that flock §. The least act bordering on injustice induces him to write again: Peter, a certain Jew, on his conversion, received a prebend of the refectory from the abbeſs of St. Peter, of Rheims, who had received him from the sacred font. This being taken away by the archbishop, the same Pope writes to charge him to restore it ||. It would be long to illustrate with instances the solicitude of the supreme pontiffs. Let us observe the duty of admonition discharged by subordinate pastors, who in each locality were in immediate contact with those who were to exercise the elect of God. But

* Petr. Blesius, Epist. cxliv.

† Id. cxlvi.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 771.

§ Id. 810.

|| Id. 786.

while citing proof, let us bear in mind our former observation, that the monitors of the ages of faith were careful that nothing should give offence in them, but the justice of their wish. With sacrifice and humble prayer to God they commenced their undertaking. There was, as we before observed, the mass against tyrants. There was also the *missa contra judices male agentes* *; and against the latter, while traces of the Pagan manners lasted, they had often to raise their holy protestation, as when RATHERIUS of Verona wrote to the empress ADELHEID, saying, "O how well would it be for all constituted in authority, as I have often suggested to your domination, if others would not pass such precipitous sentences, but observe that of blessed Job, 'Causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime investigabam †.'"

When they proceeded to a personal admonition, their manner was to be in strict accordance with the charity which was their motive. They were to have that address required in the *Brevis Religiosorum Practica* of the Benedictines, when among the "*conditiones bonorum Fratrum*," we read "*oculos deprimere, manus et pedes componere, devote inclinare, humiliter prosternere, omnibus servire, leniter transire.*" Their steps were to be soft and reverential, as monks that walk cloisters murmuring their prayers. Gentleness, delicacy, often pushed to the extremest verge, were to characterize their whole manner; not like those moral philosophers described by Sir Philip Sidney, coming forward "with a sullen gravity, as though they could not abide vice by day-light, with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names; sophistically speaking against subtlety, and angry with any man in whom they see the foul fault of anger, casting largesses as they go, of definitions, divisions, and distinctions †." They were to be affectionate, simple, natural; so that at the first glance any one could discern the contrast between them and that class of monitors, to which Calisthenes belonged, who was said to have been actuated more by the pleasure of condemning other people, and

* Muratori, *Antiq. It.* liv.

† Ap. Pez. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. vi. 98.

‡ Defence of Poesy.

of displaying his own eloquence; than by a sincere love of truth. But they could not lose dignity; and the Catholic poet does but catch their spirit in this grand reply,

— “ when sovereign princes dare
Do injury to those that live beneath them,
They turn worth pity and their prayers, and 'tis
In the free power of those whom they oppress
To pardon them; each soul has a prerogative,
And privilege royal, that was sign'd by heaven.”

In a word, as the Church sings, God assisted them with his countenance, and they were encompassed with a benediction of sweetness; yet for this ministry of love, discharged with angel's grace, what did they gain for themselves?—Insults, contradiction, often tortures and death. “ *Principes persecuti sunt me gratis;*” they sang of their own experience, adding that noble testimony to their insensibility to human fear, “ *Et a verbis tuis formidavit cor meum.*” It is expressly recorded that St. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, though sweetness and gentleness itself, was often insulted and reproached by great men, and once even in the king's presence.

Would you now see proof of what has been advanced? Then mark the forms which approach, of which the history may be briefly told from records which the Church has cherished. The pontiff whose deeds have thus by chance occurred to me the first, is St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans. He condemned the confusion introduced into the ecclesiastical order by the encroachments of Charles Martel, in conferring the revenues of episcopal sees and abbeys upon laymen, to defray the expenses of his wars: his zeal was represented to the prince as an indignity to his person, who in consequence banished him to Cologne, till finding that his great virtues raised him many friends in that city, he ordered him to be conveyed thence to the castle of Haspengau, in the territory of Liege, under the guard of Robert, governor of that country, who however was so charmed with him, that he allowed him to retire to the monastery of St. Tron. He who follows is that great light of England in early times, St. Dunstan, who, while abbot of Glastonbury, for re-

monstrating with Edwi on his crimes, was banished the kingdom. Even at the court of Athelstan his virtues, conformable to the spirit of the Gospel, had given offence, though his humility and modesty equalled the purity of his manners. Edwi persecuted the monks, and ruined all the abbeys which had escaped the ravages of the Danes. After a year of exile in Flanders, St. Dunstan was recalled to England on the deposition of Edwi, and the election of his brother Edgar. He who advances next is holy Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who received his crown on the eighth of May in 1079. Boleslas II. was then king of Poland. This prince tarnished the glory of his victories over the Russians by his unbridled lusts, and by horrible acts of tyranny and injustice. None of his courtiers, such dread had he inspired by his fiery mood, dared to remonstrate with him. Stanislas had the courage requisite to discharge this duty. Having recommended the affair to God, he boldly presented himself at court, and with the most pressing solicitations, conjured the king to put an end to his scandalous disorders, and in the end declared that he would be in danger of excommunication, if a change for the better did not take place. The king considered this expostulation as an insult not to be endured, and vowed revenge. At first he contented himself with exciting persons to calumniate the saint, and suborning false witnesses. But Stanislas cleared himself in a public trial, in presence of the king, and Boleslas seemed to be reconciled with him. However, his continued cruelties called forth again the zeal of the saint, who again forced himself into his presence. Furious and desperate, Boleslas threatened him with death if he persisted in disturbing him ; but Stanislas, still unappalled, fulfilled his trust, and after another visit, excommunicated him. He then left the city and retired to a little chapel at a small distance. Thither the king followed him with his guards, and on entering the place, ordered them to put him to death. They refused, saying that they saw a light from heaven over him. Finding no one who would dare to execute his orders, the tyrant himself rushed forward, and dispatched him with his own hand. The next so short of stature, breathes a spirit most magnanimous ; for it is St. Gregory of Tours, who for nobly defending Pretextatus,

bishop of Rouen, whom Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic, wished to ruin, and for reproving some prelates who were assisting her, gave offence to that queen, which she never forgave. She sought to gratify her vengeance by exciting wicked men to calumniate the holy bishop, who suffered from them what the prophet king eschewed. With him walks St. Pretextatus, whom he defended; for it was by his zeal against the injustice and cruelty of the queen Fredegonde, that this holy bishop had drawn upon himself the vengeance of that terrible princess. After many persecutions, as he still persisted in preaching to her truth, he was assassinated by her orders, while singing matins with his clergy, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of February, 588. He who comes next is holy Colomban, apostle of the Picts. Having given offence to king Dermot by reproving public sinners, he was obliged to retire from that stormy scene, when he passed over into Scotland. His saintly namesake walks in the same procession; he who by reproving Thierri for his licentious life gave mortal offence to Brunehaut, the king's grand-mother, who feared the influences of a legitimate wife; and when the saint refused to give his benediction to the king's natural sons, she resolved on vengeance. She took occasion to excite the king against him, and in consequence he was banished first to Besançon, and then, being conducted like his holy countrymen in 1830, to Nantes, he was placed on board a ship to be conveyed a prisoner to Ireland, but being driven back by contrary winds, he was suffered to retire to Neustria, whence he afterwards proceeded a holy wanderer to Switzerland.

He who follows is St. Raymund, of Pennafort, who after being taken by king James of Arragon, into the island of Majorca to cultivate that infant church, in consequence of remonstrating with the king, who, although otherwise a religious prince, was addicted to some criminal excesses, gave him groundless offence, and was obliged to return to Spain, where his miraculous passage to Barcelona, as attested by testimonies unexceptionable to all who do not doubt the continuance of miracles in the Church of God, caused the conversion of the king, who had sought to detain him who sped the messenger of Heaven.

The next venerable form wrapped up in the weeds of hermits of Mount Carmel, is St. Angelo, of that austere order. Having come into the west, he preached in Sicily.

There a certain powerful lord, having been several times reproved by him secretly for his incestuous life, and seeing himself deserted by the former partner of his crimes, turned all his fury against the holy Anachorite, whom he caused to be assassinated at Licate, in the year 1225. Ives de Chartres is another great light witnessed in this glorious company. Having refused to approve of the divorce of queen Bertha and of king Philip's marriage with Bertrade, he was thrown into prison, from which he was not liberated till after the pillage of the estates of his church by the royal army commissioned for that purpose.

Then follow those chosen arrows,—St. Amand, bishop of Maestricht, who for warning Dagobert against the disorders of his life, was banished by him into Gascony and Navarre ; St. Lambard, who ruled the same flock in the days of Pepin, and who was martyred for reproving that prince for the scandals of his life, in the castle of Heristal ; St. Emmeran, the patron of Ratisbonne, who was barbarously assassinated in the diocese of Frisingen, by orders of a corrupt woman who had vowed his death ; St. Frederic, bishop of Utrecht, in the ninth century, who was murdered in the church after saying mass, in consequence of having generously reproved the empress Judith for the scandals of her life ; and a throng of other pontiffs, who all suffered more or less from envy, that harlot Dante sings of,

— “ who ne'er turn'd her gloating eyes
From Cæsar's household, common vice and pest
Of courts.”

Here walk holy martyrs too, who died for the faith expressly, while urging upon kings the “ non lieet” of St. John ; amongst whom we may distinguish Fisher, who declared that “ that as to the business of the supremacy, he must needs repeat to his majesty, what he had often told him before, and would so tell him were he to die that very hour, that it was utterly unlawful, and that the king should beware of taking such title upon him, as he valued his own soul, and the good of his posterity.”

Amongst sufferers of latest date, in this specific fellowship, every eye must recognise Fenelon. Not only was he dismissed with ignominy from his office at the

court, but all his relations were disgraced and deprived of their places. One of his brothers was even expelled from the navy; another of his relations, a young man who had served in the army with distinction, was expelled from the guards. A correspondence with the archbishop became a crime against the state. "I knew well," said the king, "by the *Livre des Maximes*, that the archbishop of Cambrai had a false judgment, but I did not know that he had a bad heart. I have now learned it by reading *Télémaque*. It is impossible to push ingratitude farther. He has undertaken to cast eternal reproach upon my reign*."

Among the blessed throng who suffered persecution for reproving men in power, one may distinguish also those who stood up to defend especially the peace, and the general interest of society; of whom foremost ever stands conspicuous, the majesty of the Roman pontiffs, following St. Gregory the great, who drew on himself the resentment of the exarch, and of the emperor Maurice, by condemning their violations of justice, and their oppression of the people. But the episcopacy in general throughout the Church kept faithful watch on this side. St. Maurille, bishop of Cahors, in the sixth century, is thus cited as a model of firmness, in enduring the persecution to which he subjected himself, by opposing the injustice of the magistrates and lords who oppressed the people.

In the year 670, according to the chronicle of Sigebert, St. Prix, bishop of Clermont, in the reign of Chilperic II. having opposed some great lords who were oppressing the people, was martyred with the abbot of St. Martin and the priest Elidie. The persecution of this holy pontiff was first excited by the partisans of Hector of Marseilles, who suspected that he had excited the king to punish that infamous offender, of whose crimes, it is true, he formally complained. On his return from the court, passing by Volvic, his enemies waylaid him. The saint, perceiving their intention, said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, for they know not what they do." He had hardly finished these words, when one of the soldiers clove his skull with a sabre. Ebroin, mayor of the palace, fearing the remonstrances of St.

* *Mém. de l'Ev. d'Agen.* 779.

Chaumond, bishop of Lyons, respecting the vexations with which he harassed the people of that city, accused him of high treason ; and when he attempted to escape by flight, caused him to be murdered near Châlons-sur-Saône.

"The most excellent hymn of St. Othmar," by Notker Medicus, ascribes the same zeal to this holy man, whose sufferings and death it caused.

*"Principum sævas doluit rapinas,
Inde raptorum studiis gravatus,
Martyris palma meruit superna
Scandere regna *."*

St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, similarly incurred the displeasure of king Henry II. by resisting the tyranny of the king's foresters, who were invested with inordinate power, which they exercised over the people most tyrannically.

St. German, abbot of Granfel, in Alsace, now called Munster-thal, endured the persecution of his monastery by Duke Boniface, without murmuring ; but when that tyrant oppressed the poor of the duchy, the holy abbot remonstrated with him. In consequence of which courageous act he was assassinated by some of his soldiers, in 666, along with a companion, the blessed Randoald, as they returned from expostulating with the duke.

The freedom with which St. John of Sahagun reprov'd the vices of the great, exposed him also to severe persecutions. A certain duke, whom he had exasperated by charitably reproving him for oppressing his vassals, sent two assassins to murder him ; but at the sight of the holy man, the ruffians were struck with remorse, and, casting themselves at his feet, begged pardon for their crime.

Now presses forward a multitude of holy monks, friars, and eremites, who gained martyrdom by reprov-ing the vices of the great : but of these, any attempt at a particular scrutiny would be vain. To our observations in the last book, respecting the monastic boldness, we may, however, add some few examples here.

* Ap. Canissii Lect. Antiq. 11.

The Franciscan liturgies contain repeated allusions to heroic acts of this kind, as in the office of St. Anthony of Padua; and the chant of the friars will be a fitting accompaniment to the remainder of the spectacle, as when they sing of St. Anthony, "*Contra virum sanguinum clamat et dolosum, quod hoc genus hominum Deo sit exosum,*" and in the hymn commemorating his joys,

" *Gaude, quod, zelo succensus
Justitiæ, redarguebas
Omnes, et propter hoc eras
Multis vitiosis offensus.*"

When Fulgino was groaning under the oppressive yoke of the tyrant Trincio, his satellites, on suspicion of a revolt, proceeded to Bevano, a town in Umbria, where all things were soon filled with slaughter and rapine, fire and sword. Brother James and brother Philip, minor friars of that town, preached in the marketplace on this occasion, exhorting the people to patience, but expressing horror at the sanguinary rage of the tyrants. Presently the satellites rushed through the crowd, slew them, and then threw their bodies into the Tessino. This was on the second of September, in 1377. Generally, whenever the cities of Umbria, Lombardy, and the marshes were oppressed by their tyrants, the minor friars came forward as martyrs in their cause*.

The duke of Milan took such offence at the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, that he threatened him with death; but he durst not touch him through fear of the people, who loved the friar. In this dilemma his counsellors advised him to send money to the friar, which, if he accepted, he might then have a pretence to expose him to the people as a deceiver; but the friar sent back the gold cup and ducats; and when a second time the messenger returned and refused to take back the duke's present, "Then," said he, "follow me with your lord's gold;" so he led the way to the prison, entered and liberated all but two, for whose redemption there was not

* Wadding, *Annal. Min.* vol. ix.

sufficient. These poor men, having besought his compassion, he declared that he would remain in their place rather than desert them: the people hearing what passed, made a collection sufficient to redeem them also; and thus the artifice of the duke only turned to the greater merit of Bernardine*.

After the expulsion of the French from Sicily, when Peter of Arragon had been invited to accept the crown, and king Charles was preparing hostilities, brother Bartholomew de Placea of the order of St. Francis, a wise man and greatly revered, says the historian, was induced by the prayers of the captain and count of Messina to repair to the latter. The king, on seeing him, demanded for what purpose he had come from traitors; and he replied, "I am no traitor, neither have I the appearance of a traitor, nor do I come from traitors. I have come to advise my brethren of our order who may be with you, not to adopt a mind contrary to this Christian people, who are devout to God, and friends to the house of blessed Francis. But if you ask, pretending ignorance, whence this fury of the Messenians has arisen, know, O impious man, that you have exasperated to madness this innocent people whom the Lord committed to your care: for you placed over them dogs and wolves to devour them; and when they cried unto you for succour, their voice was not heard by the king; but when they turned to the Lord, He heard them. Thus bearing the form of Pharaoh, you have deservedly lost the people of Sicily; for those whom you could have conquered with one look of clemency, will not easily be subdued by your anger. Lo, the cry of all is battle—for liberty! choosing rather to die than to live thus. Strange it is, that you should be so perverted and insane as to endeavour with all your strength to destroy a city whose rage you never attempted to destroy by the clemency of a king†."

This particular ministry of the friars partly explains the affection with which they were cherished by the people, of which history records many instances. Bartholomew of Neocastro says, that on the death of the emperor Frederic II., when the religious brother, Ruffi-

* Wadding, *Annal. Min.* vol. x.

† Bartol. de Neocastro, *Hist. Sicil. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script.* tom. xiii.

nus de Placentia, of the order of St. Francis, was sent legate by the apostolic see into Sicily, he was received by the citizens of Palermo with great joy; that "children sang, Hosanna in excelsis, priests and old men carried palms and branches of olive, youths rejoiced, and all the devout female sex were filled with gladness *."

To the ear of even that fearful emperor, the free voice of the mendicant orders had sounded. Let us hear an historian of the Dominicans: "One day brother Jordan of Saxony, who was then general of the order, waited on Frederic II., who ordered him to be seated. After they had both remained for a considerable time without speaking, the friar broke silence, saying, 'Seigneur, I travel through various provinces for the affairs of my order, fulfilling my duty; and I am therefore surprised that you do not ask what rumours are abroad.' 'I have my ambassadors,' replied the emperor, 'in all courts, who are exactly informed of what passes every where. I am not ignorant of what is said in other kingdoms, as you seem to suppose.' The friar rejoined: 'Jesus Christ knew all things; since he was God; and yet he asked his disciples what did men say of Him. Seigneur, you are but a man, and you are ignorant of many things that are said of you; and it would be well if you knew them. Men say that you oppress the Church, that you despise the bishops and ecclesiastical censures; that you believe in auguries, that you favour Jews and Saracens in preference to Christians, and that you do not honour the vicar of Jesus Christ. Assuredly, seigneur, such conduct would be unworthy of you. Permit your servant to represent to you how it concerns your glory and your salvation to stop these popular reports, by actions which may merit for you the approbation of God and the esteem of men.' The emperor, to whom such language was but little familiar, heard him however to the end†." Yet rarely could such words be addressed with impunity to princes of that stamp. Some advice, given to Ferdinand king of Naples and to his two sons Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and John, cardinal of Arragon, was sufficient to draw on St. Francis of Paul, a true persecution; and

* Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicil. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiii. c. 4.

† Tournon, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ordre S. D. liv. vi.

as a pretence was necessary, he was accused of building monasteries without the king's permission, an act which subjected him by law to punishment.

However, it was not the fault of these holy men if they escaped persecution; for, in regard to the discharge of their duty in this respect, they were fearless and devoted. John Birel, that general of the Carthusians who was a contemporary of Petrarch, was an example, ever on the tongue of the Italian philosophers. Famed for the sanctity of his life, and his zeal for the glory of God, no human influence affected him. He preached repentance without respect of persons, and wrote to princes with the utmost freedom, to exhort them to reform their lives. A late historian remarks, that at the time when Cosmo de Medicis was in such imminent danger, and when the partisans of his house, although very numerous, were so intimidated that there was scarcely one who said a word to defend him, it was a monk who had the courage to become his public defender, Ambrogio Traversari, general of the order of Camaldoli, a man celebrated for his Christian piety and learning, who coming in haste from Ferrara to Florence, with that intrepidity which his virtue and habit afforded him, presented himself to the governors, speaking to them with courage and truth in favour of Cosmo, and receiving fair though empty words. He had also the courage to use the same importunities with Rinaldo Albizzi, who, in consequence, bitterly rebuked him*.

But it was not alone in reproving and admonishing the great that holy men found an opportunity for enduring persecution. The ordinary duties of the episcopal and pastoral care, going about the vineyard, "that soon turns to wan and withered, if not tended well†," exposed them to the resentment of sinners, by which many of them reaped sufferings in the present, and beatitude eternal in the future life. "The whole day did not suffice to them for giving counsel," as we read of St. Anselm, and their reward was often persecution. To what dangers was St. Antoninus exposed, when he left the cloister of St. Dominic to fill the archiepiscopal throne of Florence? Many crimes having been imputed to a clerk named Ciardi, the archbishop cited him to appear to answer the

* Pignotti, iii. chap. ii.

† Dante, Par. xii.

charge. This led to an attempt upon his life; but God protected him, when, as we before observed, he not only pardoned, but converted the assassin. The blessed Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, was assassinated in 1214, at St. John d'Acre, while assisting at a procession of the holy cross on the feast of its exaltation, by an impious wretch whom he had reprov'd for his crimes.

During the illness of Louis XV., when the duchess of Chateauroux and the duc de Richelieu took such care to prevent the succours of religion from reaching him, Francis de Fitz-James, bishop of Soissons, assisted by the duc de Chartres, forced his entry, and announced to him his state and his obligations. Reparation was made; the king recovered; but the arts of the court succeeded in leading him back to vice. The bishop, who had only fulfilled the strict obligations of his ministry, was banished and disgraced. This was, indeed, during a sceptical and most corrupt epoch; but even in the middle ages there were men to whom it was a perilous thing to offer the same assistance. We had occasion before to mark the traces of such spirits, that sought to be conquerors in hell, proud and isolated, and apart even from demons, as Manfred says to the spirit that gives him the summons, "Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone. I have not been thy dupe, nor am I thy prey, but was my own destroyer, and will be my own hereafter. Back, ye baffled fiends! The hand of death is on me—but not yours."

With respect to the danger of attempting a reform of manners by sermons, it is certain that they were of a different order from those which now exist in countries where faith is wavering. In the middle ages, men who retained any regard for the Church, did not wish preachers to aim no higher than at delivering a lecture in correct language, less calculated to excite compunction than to lull to sleep the hearers. In this respect they resembled the Athenians of old: *οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οὔτε ῥήτορα, οὔτε στρατηγόν, δι' ὅτου δουλείουσι εὐτυχῶς* *.

Preachers had not to fear the supercilious criticism of a lay committee, ever fearful lest the rich, from whom it drew supplies, might find their words saucy and overbold. The sermons of the Franciscans and Dominicans

* Demosthenes, de Corona.

contain terrible anathemas against such unworthy priests as could be influenced by such considerations. "Bad priests," says St. Anthony of Padua, "and all these clerical speculators are mute dogs, having in their jaws a diabolic bit which hinders them from barking." In general the preachers of the ages of faith were too intrepid to have submitted to such trammels. Their spirit was expressed by the holy Columban in his letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, saying, "Let us combat for the good cause; and, if it be the will of God, let us die for it. Let us not be mute dogs, sleepy and mercenary sentinels, flying at the sight of the wolf. Let us be vigilant and attentive pastors. Let us preach to the great and little, to rich and poor, in season and out of season*." Such, down to the latest times, continued to be the spirit of Catholic preachers, which could not but entail on them persecution of some kind; for hear how it is described: "After dinner," says Madame de Sevigné, "we heard the sermon of Bourdaloue, who always strikes like a deaf man, speaking truths right and left at a gallop, through thick and thin: *sauve qui peut*, he goes always straight on†." The preacher thus could often use the words of Nicias in his despatch to the Athenian people: *τούτων ἐγὼ ἠδῖω μὲν ἂν εἶχον ὑμῖν ἔτερα ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μίντοι χρησιμώτερά γε*, though, on the whole, he too might add, *ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγησάμην τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλώσαι* ‡. However, perhaps, even in consequence of the power of faith, from which not even the wicked could emancipate themselves, there were, in the middle ages, attached to this office, dangers of a different kind, which required no little courage in the holy to encounter.

Touron, the historian of the Dominican order, begins his account of the life of Savonarola by citing the evangelic text, "*Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam* §." In fact, the preaching of repentance was a fruitful source of this beatitude; and hence, in later times, those who followed blessed Ignatius of Loyola, bearing that new succour to the militant church by first endeavouring to excite devotion among Catholics themselves, by causing the observance of more exterior respect

* Ep. 105.

† Lett. 613.

‡ Thucyd. vii.

§ Hist. des Hom. Illust. iii. 23.

in regard to the divine worship, by requiring more catechistical instructions, by advising that the sacraments should be more frequented, by training youth more devoutly, by serving God only for his greater glory, without regard to temporal interests, and by their spiritual exercises conducing to the greater sanctity of all, had great need of being prepared in patience to suffer persecution for the sake of justice.

When St. Francis received his friars at Rivo-Torto, returning to him after preaching in various countries, we read that they related whatever had occurred to them, and, with chief pleasure, the different insults and injuries they had received. When Savonarola was to preach in the cathedral of Florence, he found the pulpit purposely defiled. The profligate, who detested his eloquence, endeavoured to desecrate the whole church. They poisoned the feet of the crucifix, which the people used to kiss; and they attempted to assassinate him in the act of preaching penance. "One is tempted to ask," says Tournon, "whether the men who acted thus were Christians or Mahometans, Florentines or Iroquois." But, from the earliest ages of the Church, the same cause had existed, attended with similar effects. When St. John Chrysostom exerted his zeal against the vices of the stage and circus, and withdrew the people from them, occasion was taken by his enemies, among whom were even bishops, to suggest to the empress that his denunciations against the sins of the great were levelled chiefly against her. Then, with her sanction, a false council was held, headed by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and a sentence of deposition and banishment passed against him.

St. Barbatus, bishop of Benevento in the seventh age, while curate of St. Basil's in Morcona near that city, suffered persecution for endeavouring to reform the manners of his parishioners, who, as they desired only to slumber on in their sins, could not bear his remonstrances to awaken them to repentance, or his efforts to establish order and discipline amongst them. They treated him as a disturber of their peace, and persecuted him with violence. Finding their malice conquered by his patience and humility, they had recourse to slander, and with such success that he was obliged to withdraw from them.

St. Egwin, descended from the blood of the Mercian kings, and raised to the see of Worcester in 692, was another early example. The generous freedom with which he reprov'd vice, displeased certain hardened sinners, and such was the persecution he suffered in consequence, that he retired for a time, and made a pilgrimage to Rome.

All through the middle ages there were similar instances occurring from time to time. St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, was martyred in consequence of the offence he gave by his sermons before the court of king Thierri. Three assassins were ordered to lie in wait for him as he returned to his church ; and the spot on which they murdered him is called to this day, St. Didier de Chalaraine. St. Gaudin, bishop of Soissons, in the beginning of the eighth century, like another St. John the Baptist, had the courage to condemn the grievous sins of many of his diocesans. Fatigued with his apostolic freedom, they conspired against him, waylaid him, and threw him into a deep well, in which he perished. Similarly St. Lambert, bishop of Maestricht, was put to death in a cowardly manner by Dadon, a grandee of the court of Pepin, for having condemned the criminal lives of two brothers, Gal and Riold. The lapse of ages seemed not to have diminished the danger ; for St. John Francis Regis was repeatedly exposed to assassination for his zeal in converting sinners.

Soon after his ordination, St. Philip Neri, by exciting in the confessional multitudes of sinners to compunction, gave offence to evil men, who could not bear so great a light ; and certain persons were found who uttered the most outrageous calumnies against him, which he endured in silence, thanking God that he was accounted worthy to suffer reproach.

While St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, was effecting a reformation of manners in that extensive diocese, then overrun with thorns, which he accomplished in three years, by his patience and unshaken courage, he was several times in danger of assassination. Some persons affected a sovereign contempt for his person, and held him up to ridicule as a stranger who did not know the manners of the country. St. Francis de Girolamo, while pursuing his apostolic labours in Naples, found often his intentions misinterpreted, his good works

counteracted by malice, and his virtues turned into ridicule.

We may remark that, before the institution of the Jesuits, the religious orders had often come to the assistance of the parochial clergy, where the latter were afraid to correct some abuses which they deplored without daring to suppress them. St. Vincent Ferrier, after ascribing the growth of heresy chiefly to a want of instruction among the people, writes as follows in a letter to Jean de Puinoix, general of the order in 1403, from the mountains of Savoy and Dauphiné: "At Geneva, after the fête of Corpus Christi, the people celebrate another under the name of Saint Orient. At Lausanne the same abuse prevails. Some curates of the country tell me that they dare not combat this superstition publicly, as the people would refuse their alms, or even attack their lives if they attempted it. God gave me the grace to despise these vain terrors, and His divine word has already eradicated this impiety*."

Evangelic intrepidity, in combating the passions and vices which related to the political order, had also been a source of suffering to holy men from earliest times. Thus St. Aldric, bishop of Mans, during the reigns of Louis le Débonnaire and Charles le Chauve, drew on himself a cruel persecution by denouncing the spirit of revolt which then prevailed. Not content with banishing him from his church, the more violent of the people endeavoured to destroy his reputation by the blackest calumnies, but truth prevailing, he was brought back after a year of exile. How this instance recalls events that have lately passed before our eyes!—events to which I cannot now refrain from alluding, to cite the example of a prelate who honoured me with his friendship, in whom, as in a mirror of history, one beheld the courage and the holiness of the ages of faith. Lately, in the chamber of the peers of France, count Molé spoke of the re-appearance of my lord de Quélen, the archbishop of Paris, in the church of St. Roch, when he preached for the children whom the recent pestilence had rendered orphans. "Rich and poor," said the count, "all classes of the population ran thither to catch a glimpse of him. O if this scene, of which so many persons still preserve the

* Tournon, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'ord. S. D.

memory, had passed in the time of St. Vincent, of Paul, or of St. Charles, we should not be able to find colours sufficiently deep and bright to perpetuate its remembrance. Let us leave to the past all its glory, but let us not depreciate the present times. Futurity, depend upon it, will render them justice, and will not forget this archbishop of Paris breaking his ban, issuing from his retreat, where violence and persecution had forced him to conceal himself, to ask charity for the orphan children of his persecutors." So far the noble peer: but a circumstance, of which he was perhaps ignorant, and which I remember having heard from the lips of the saintly prelate, added a far different lustre to this scene; for this archbishop, coming forth to the succour of his flock on that day, must have had angels hovering over him, with the palm which, by the divine grace, he had deserved from Him to whom he had internally made the offering of his life; for by letters from unknown persons, without number, he had been assured that there was a conspiracy to assassinate him in the very pulpit; so that he went prepared to die like the good Shepherd for his sheep; and as he mounted those long steps before the church, he assured me, with a smile of holy resignation, that there were frowning and malignant looks fixed upon him, which seemed to confirm all his expectations. It is of such men that the Church says, "*Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo, et inventus est justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio!*"

CHAPTER VI.

EXTENDING now our regards from the sufferings chiefly of one class, to which was committed a particular administration, let us observe the persecutions to which all men were exposed in ages of faith, simply in consequence of evincing a more strict fidelity to the divine law.

"*Christianus, alter Christus,*" say the holy fathers. In the Christian, by the eucharistic act, Christ is to abide, as it were, personally. Now the world persecuted Christ, and, as in the massacre of the innocents, declared war

against Him from His birth : therefore, in ages of faith, every Christian knew what he was personally to expect from it. "Christ, the head of the martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered first for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. *Omnis gloria ejus filiæ Regis ab intus* ; for from without curses and persecutions, and detractions, are promised *." Each faithful disciple was prepared to suffer like his Divine Master, "*quasi latronem †*," and as a deceiver of the people ‡; like His apostle, "*quasi male operans §*;" and to say with him, "*Laboro usque ad vincula*." Each was ready to hear, in allusion to himself, "Away with this man, and give unto us Barabbas ! for in all ages there are men who hate God already with somewhat of the hatred of the reprobate, and whose gross, unholy infidelity amounts to the forsaking of Jesus and the clinging to Barabbas ||;" and, in fact, each member of the Catholic Church might have often used the verses at the Passion in reference to himself, "*Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum, et inter iniquos projecerunt me : congregati sunt adversum me fortes : et sicut gigantes steterunt contra me*." "Through all the pores of His sacred body issued a sweat of blood," says St. Augustin, "because in His body, that is, in His Church, the blood of martyrs was to flow ¶."

The solemn sentences in which the holy men of those times conveyed their intimate convictions of the necessity of such suffering, are familiar to most Catholics ; but it is interesting to remark with what readiness persons of all conditions were willing to trace a connexion between their own sufferings, or those of contemporaries, and the passion of their Divine Prototype. Even within the worldly society, where doubtful elements existed, there used to be an attempt to claim an identity, which in some instances was not discerned without ingenuity or greater charity. "Recollect," says queen Eleonore, writing to the archbishop of Mayence, desiring him to procure the deliverance of king Richard, "whether from the infancy of the rising Church there was ever any pacific, faithful, innocent king, and a stranger, so craftily

* S. August. lib. i. De Serm. Dom. in Monte, cap. v.

† Luc. xxiii.

‡ 1 Joan.

§ Ad Tim. ii. 2.

|| Veith. Dr. Cox, tr.

¶ In Ps. xciii.

taken or maliciously detained. Where is the law of nations ? where is equity ? where the reverence for strangers evinced even by the crucifiers of Christ, when they transferred to the potter's field for the burial of strangers the price of the sale of Christ * ? ”

Thus insensibly persons contracted the style and mode of thinking of their contemporaries, even when they were making a false application of both. But let us take an instance which is not liable to such an objection, to observe with what fervour and simplicity the greatest intelligences cherished this desire of conformity to the world's Immortal victim ! John Picus of Mirandula writes as follows to John Francis : “ This is apostolic dignity, to be counted worthy of being traduced by the impious on account of the Gospel. If the world hated Him by whom the world was made, why should we miserable creatures, who deserve so ill, bear with impatience the injuries done to us by others ? If men praise you when living well, as far as living well indeed you resemble Christ ; but inasmuch as men give you praise, you are unlike Him. *Optabilis crucifigi a mundo ut exalteris a Deo, quam exaltaris a mundo ut judiceris a Deo* : for the one crucifies to life, the other exalts to glory ; the one exalts to perdition, the other judges to hell. Happy calumny, happy contumely, which renders us safe, and prevents the flower of justice from being withered by the pestilential blast of vain-glory, and the rewards of eternity from being diminished to us by the vain augmentation of popular favour. Let that sweetest voice of our Lord ever sound in your ears : *Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, tu me sequere* : for they are dead who live not to God ; and in the space of temporary death laboriously do they acquire for themselves eternal death. And if you inquire from men whither do they tend, or whence look they for happiness, they will have nothing to reply, or only words contradictory, like the ravings of the insane ; for neither do they know themselves what they do, but, like those who swim in rivers, they are borne along with the flood of custom as if with the force of a mighty stream. Therefore, dearest son, stop your ears against them, and whatever men may say or think respecting you, make no account of it, but consider only

* Ap. Pet. Bles. Epist. cxliii.

the certainty of death and the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works, in his revelation from heaven with the angels of his virtue, in flames of fire, taking vengeance upon those who know not God, and who obey not the Gospel. Fly then from the company of such men, who always love to draw others aside from the narrow path, and let no day pass without humble and ardent prayer to the Saviour. Despise the false, shadowy, and imaginary joys of this brief world, and desire only to be received into that country whose king is God, whose law is love, whose duration is for ever *."

Lovely and amiable is the race of men; and yet, that in the order of nature, since the fall, goodness itself must be a cause of hatred, is a proposition which, however the shallow moralists of the present day might be disposed to contradict, the voice of all antiquity proclaims. "To you the very name of virtue," says Seneca, "is displeasing. You deem it expedient that no one should appear to be eminently virtuous, since the virtue of others would be like a condemnation of your vices †." The poet bears a similar testimony:

"—— Quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incloplumem odimus ‡."

Cebes, in his Tables, remarks how men who refuse to follow truth detest and revile those who persevere in ascending to the citadel. "It is not easy," says Plato, "for those who adopt the best course, to be well spoken of by those who follow the contrary §." "Innocentiæ plus periculi quam honoris est." Plato, in almost all his dialogues, calls attention to the fact. "Must not the lovers of wisdom," he asks, "be necessarily reproached by the vulgar? Assuredly they must ||." Defining a just man, he says, *μηδὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶν, δόξαν ἔχειν τὴν μείστην ἀδικίας ¶*. "Among the people in general, and among his acquaintances, he will be disliked, simply because he will never consent to any injustice **." The first Christian apologists called to witness the avowals of the old philosophy, that truth produced hatred, to account

* Epist. lib. i. 47.

† De Vita Beata. ‡ Hor. Od. iii. 24.

§ De Repub. vi.

|| Ib.

¶ Ib. ii.

** Ib. i.

for the enmity with which they were regarded *. What an astonishing testimony does Socrates bear to the perpetual existence of the disposition which produces the effects we are here to contemplate, where he says, in that memorable passage of the Republic, "that if a person perfectly just should come into the world, he would be scourged, tortured, bound, blinded, and, after suffering every species of torment, crucified ; and that it should be thus manifested that it was not a thing desirable to be just, but to seem just † !" After this, however, we may sympathize with Antigone exclaiming, at her death,

Λεύσσετε, Θήβης οἱ κοῦρανίδαι,
οἷα πρὸς οἷων ἀνδρῶν πάσχω,
τὴν εὐσεβίαν σεβίσασα ‡.

more philosophical must sound the words of Abner to the high-priest in Athalie,

"Pensez-vous être saint et juste impunément ?"

No, for where there is no convention and connivance, "throughout the world is virtue worried down, as 'twere a snake, for mortal foe."

But if the heathen philosophers could arrive at such conclusions from the limited observations that such men could make in a benighted world, or from the mere speculations of their intelligence, what was not to be expected after the sun of justice had risen upon the earth, confirming all former predictions and aggravating the sources of hostility, by bringing men into contact with real and divine virtues ? when sheep were to be sent, not alone amongst wolves, but also amongst wolves in sheep's clothing ? For what ? In the middle age all men are Christians. But as St. Augustin demands, "Nunquid et diabolus Christianus erit ? Therefore he does not cease to tempt and to instigate §." What is the Church ? Hear the answer of this holy doctor : "You enter a barn, and see hardly any thing but straw and chaff. An inexperienced man would think that there was no wheat, and that all was straw and chaff. Yet there the corn lies amidst it, which will be found when it is thrashed and

* Tertull. x. Apol. Lactantius.

† De Repub. lib. ii.

‡ Soph. Ant. 940.

§ In Ps. lxi.

winnowed. So in the Church. Do you wish to find the wheat? Be good, and you will find it*." You see then in what proportion, even in ages of faith, are always the instruments for persecuting men simply on account of their sanctity.

"Who can enumerate," exclaims St. Augustin, "all the things by which the Body of Christ is tortured, which lives within in the spirit of Christ, and which groans as wheat amidst the chaff? Scarcely are they who thus groan discernible; they are as hidden as the wheat before the thrashing. One would suppose it all chaff†." Now this chaff was an element of persecution employed not only against individual members, but always, as we shall see presently, against the collective body of the Church, and even against the earthly society of men as constituted by divine religion.

Leonard de Chio, archbishop of Constantinople, declared, from what he witnessed, that at the last siege of Constantinople, before it was taken by the Turks, there were actually Christians of all nations in the Turkish army: they were Christians who taught the infidels how to conquer the Christians, who discovered to them whatever could aid them in their enterprise‡. Wonder not then to hear rising, day and night, from the Churches of the middle ages such voices as refer to the Passion of Him whom all the just must follow:

"Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo. A viro iniquo eripe me.

"Viri impii dixerunt, Opprimamus virum justum injuste, et deglutiamus eum tamquam infernus vivum: auferamus memoriam illius de terra; et de spoliis ejus sortem mittamus inter nos.

"Insurrexerunt in me viri iniqui absque misericordia, quæsierunt me interficere."

Yes, the middle ages, as well as all other times, beheld the Divine words verified. As under the law, he that was born after the flesh, according to the language of the Apostle, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so was it then. The carnal mind, which is enmity

* In Ps. xlvii.

† In Ps. xxx.

‡ Tournon, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ord. S. D. tom. iii. liv. 20.

against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be, was enmity against his servants, whether kings, pontiffs, priests, or laymen, women or children, who sought to observe it. The world, which had hated the Just One before, hated them. If they had been of the world, the world would have loved its own; but because they were not of the world, but had been chosen out of the world, therefore the world hated, and, as the Church sings, abhorred them. "*Hi sunt quos fatuè mundus abhorrui.*"

"Truly, brethren," says St. Augustin, "we see by daily examples that division is made by Christ. It pleases a youth to serve God; it displeases his father; they are divided against each other. The one promises an earthly heritage, the other loves a celestial one. So it is with the mother and daughter; and sometimes in one house are found a heretic and a Catholic *." Thus it continued.

St. Anselm, when a boy, was hated by his father for wishing to become a monk. What persecutions did St. Thomas of Aquin endure from his mother Theodora and his two brothers, when he first received the habit of St. Dominic's order, being confined by them for more than a year in a tower of the castle of Rocca-Sicca, from which sufferings he was only delivered at the instance of the Pope and the emperor. When St. Stanislas Kostka entered the society of Jesus, his father's rage was kindled to such a degree that he even threatened he would procure the banishment of the Jesuits out of Poland, for having involved his family in what he blindly termed a disgrace. St. Aloysius Gonzaga, too, when he disclosed his wish to devote himself to God in the society of Jesus, had much to suffer. His father said that he would have him scourged naked. "O that it would please God," replied the holy youth, "to grant me so great a favour as to suffer that for his love!" Even without seeking to renounce the world for a cloister, whoever seeks to realise in the crowd the pious wishes he has formed in solitude sitting alone in the forest, will have to suffer persecutions for producing without what he had conceived within; for doing in the city what he had resolved on in the woods. "The will in man," says Dante, "bears goodly blos-

* In Ps. xliv.

soms ; but its ruddy promise is, by the dripping of perpetual rain, made mere abortion *." That rain is the ridicule or the reproaches ready to fall on faith and innocence, when speech or action shows them forth.

"Oh, what a world is this, when what is comely
Envenoms him that bears it!"

"Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris; subsanatio et illusio his qui in circuitu nostro sunt †." It is still the same with all who follow the way, and the truth, and the life. "He who wishes to be like the few," as Petrarch says, "becomes odious to the many ‡." "How strange is the world!" exclaims the duc de S. Simon, speaking of the duke of Burgundy and of his conversion. "It had abhorred him in his first state, and it was inclined to despise him in his second. The prince felt the wound: he supported it. He attached with joy this sort of opprobrium to the cross of his Saviour, in order to confound himself in the bitter remembrance of his past pride. What most sensibly affected him was to find it in its heaviest form in the bosom of his own family."

James II. experienced the same hostility from some even who were separated to God. "Behold a good simple man," said the archbishop of Rheims, on seeing him leaving the chapel at Versailles; "he has left three kingdoms for a mass."

St. Elizabeth of Hungary was despised for her sanctity and innocence by her mother-in-law and the other relations of her husband, who endeavoured to make her appear contemptible and unworthy of her station. The woes which she endured within the gothic walls of Wartbourg, described with such affecting simplicity by the contemporary writers, and brought back to the memory of this age by the pen of young Montalembert, are all to be traced to the same source. Truly all holy persons, especially they who were of Cæsar's household §, have from the time of St. Paul suffered persecutions of this kind; and the emperor Frederick II., in ordering his courtiers to contrive some temptation that might over-

* Par. xxvii.

† Ps. lxxviii.

‡ Epist. i. 5.

§ Epist. ad Philip.

come the sanctity of St. Francis, disclosed with sufficient clearness the secret of much of the hostility directed against them.

Cowley's essay, entitled "The Dangers of an honest man in much company," requires to be completed by a reference to those dangers which peculiarly affect Catholics; for compliance with the commands of the Church was often sufficient of itself, as at the present day, to draw upon men not alone the ridicule, but the indignation of the unholy. St. Kucley, St. Milhey, and St. Nizilon, the two first brothers, and all of illustrious families of Lithuania, were chamberlains to Olgerd, grand duke of Lithuania, and father of the famous Jagellon. On their conversion to Christianity, their refusal to eat meat on a day of abstinence cost them their liberty and their lives. All were first tortured; but the last, a mere youth, suffered atrocities that only Satanic cruelty could devise. They were martyred at Wilna in 1342.

A certain hostess, merely from observing that St. Dominick and his companions abstained from meat, and took only bread and wine as they sat at table with other travellers in her inn, burst into a rage and loaded him with insults and maledictions. The observance of these holy practices, by reminding the impious of the law they outraged, naturally excited that indignation which will often find vent in words like those of the demons to our Lord, "What is there in common between thee and us? Art thou come to torment us before the time?" Merely the look and air of poverty and mortification, which belonged to St. Gregory of Nazianzen, caused him to be ill received when he first went to Constantinople. Great were the insults he had to endure in consequence, not only from the Arians, but even from the Catholics of high condition of that polite and proud city.

St. Jerome describes such persons. "These are they who say continually, All is pure for the pure. My conscience suffices to me. Why should I abstain from these meats which God has created for the use of man? And when, in their profane fêtes and criminal rejoicings, they are gorged with wine, adding sacrilege to excess, they propose to participate in the blood of Jesus Christ; and if their eyes meet with any one pale and mortified, they treat such a person as wretched and a Manichæan. And certes they have a show of reason: since for those who

live in similar excesses, fasting and mortifications are a real heresy *." Substitute the word bigotry for Manichæan, and you have the modern complaints. Thousands of men, in short, feel towards persons of celebrated holiness, and would act, if they had an occasion, like the clown who went to vote against Aristides, and who, when asked, whether he knew Aristides personally, replied that truly he did not, but that he was tired of hearing him styled the just; *σιωπήσας*, adds Plutarch, *ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ὁστράκῳ, καὶ ἀπέδωκεν*.

But there were even more deadly wheels in movement to explain the result observed by the father of history, *τῷ δίκαιῳ τὸ ἀδίκον πολέμιόν ἐστι* †. "Herod feared John," says the evangelist, "knowing him to be a just man and holy †." "Vice is not so much dreaded in men, because it makes them slaves, as virtue is feared, because it makes them masters §." It is feared also, because it seems to menace the acquisitions of the unjust. When Fenelon was made archbishop of Cambrai, he surrendered his only abbey of St. Vallery. The archbishop of Rheims took alarm. "It is reported," he said to him, "that you are about resigning your benefice: what folly!" "Whether it be so or not, the thing is done," replied Fenelon. "You ruin us all," rejoined the other: "what would you have the king think of my lord of Rheims, who is still asking for more?" "I do not condemn anyone," said Fenelon. "That is to say," replied the other, "every one should follow his conscience: well, my conscience orders me to keep my abbeys ||."

We need not ask what side such men would take between a Gregory VII. and an emperor, between a St. Thomas and a Henry II., between a Droste Vischering and a Frederic of Prussia. "What is his offence?" asks St. Bernard, speaking of count Theobald; "if it be a sin that he loved justice, and hated iniquity, he cannot be excused." "The evil persecute the good," as St. Augustin says, "because the good

* Epist. ad Eustoch. Virg.

† Herodotus.

‡ Marc. vi. 20.

§ Savedra, Christian Prince, i. 109.

|| Beaumelle, Mém. de Mad. de Maintenon.

will not consent to their evil. Some one does ill. The bishop takes no notice? he is a good bishop. The bishop remonstrates? he is an evil bishop. Whoever reprehends evil is an enemy to those who say, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die *."

But let us mark the effects under a grosser form in ordinary life. St. Honoré, the son of a cattle-dealer of Buzançais, near Bourges, at the end of the thirteenth century, succeeded to that trade on his father's death, and became a model of virtuous young men. Returning from Poitou, and perceiving that his servants had mixed with his drove a stolen cow, he reproved them and insisted on their restoring it to its owner. Incensed at his words, they resolved to make away with him, and to sell the drove for their own profit. On reaching a solitary spot, half a league from Thenezai, near Parthenai, in Poitou, they seized him, cut off his head, and threw the body near a fountain, where, by God's fiat, miracles proclaimed the glory of his crown. At Thenezai, the body was solemnly enshrined, the church dedicated to him; Buzançais took him for its patron, and in 1444 he was by the Pope beatified.

Wulfade and Rufin, the brothers of St. Wereberge, on account of their frequently resorting to the cell of St. Chad, near Lichfield, by whom they were instructed in the faith and baptized, became hateful to Werbode, a powerful wicked knight, who considered that they were obstacles to the attainment of his wish, in regard to his marriage with their saintly sister who had consecrated herself to God; and in consequence of this suspicion, and with the consent of her father, king of Mercia, he contrived their murder.

The blessed Thomas, prior of the abbey of St. Victor, having induced Stephen, bishop of Paris, in 1133, to reform certain communities, was assassinated in his company at Gournai-sur-Marne, by the nephews of Thibaud Nothier, archdeacon of Paris, who was jealous of his influence over the bishop. The holy man, after forgiving his murderers, and protesting that he died for justice, expired in the bishop's arms.

St. Godegrand, bishop of Séz, on his return from Rome, was murdered on the road between Almenèches

* In Ps. cxxvlii.

and Sééz, by order of Chrodobert, to whom he had confided the diocese in his absence, and who feared to be called to an account by him for his crimes.

How many just men in the middle ages were persecuted for a similar reason, like St. Malo, on the death of Haeloch, count of Aleth, his protector, when he was obliged to fly from Brittany! So true are the words of the Pythagorean poet,

αἰεὶ δ' ἀπὸ ἀπειραῖσι πόνος *.

Nor did retirement and silence remove the cause of persecution. In retirement, the faithful were still regarded as adversaries under a hostile banner, and their silence was reproach and clamour. "*Nunquam inutilis est opera civis boni,*" said the philosopher; "*auditu enim, visu, vultu, nutu, obstinatione tacita, incessuque ipso prodest.* Virtus, sive cogitur vela contrahere, sive otiosa mutaque est, in quocunque habitu est, prodest. *Quid? tu parum utile putas exemplum bene quiescentis?*" It is silent, retired, unobtrusive? But for that very reason, it must expect to be detested. Why so? St. Augustin furnishes an answer, when he describes the luxury of the Romans, and its consequences.

"Vast and magnificent houses," he says, "are constructed; banquets are held; die noctuque ludatur, bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur. They devote themselves to dances, dramas, and every kind of cruel and shameful pleasure. He is a public enemy to whom this felicity is displeasing: whoever should attempt to change it or take it away, will, by the liberal multitude, be removed from their hearing, will be hurled from his seat, will be cast out from among the living †."

"Scandals abound," says St. Augustin, "but no one perceives them, unless he who follows the way of God ‡." "Those whom God suffers to walk according to the affections of their heart, who defend, some the circus, others the amphitheatre, others the theatres, and so on, are necessarily alienated from those who walk according to his precepts §;" "and it is of no avail," as he adds, "to find a city in which there is no pagan, because those

* Pindar.

† In Ps. lxxi.

‡ De Civ. Dei, 11. 20.

§ In Ps. lxxx.

Christians who live ill, are sure equally to insult those who live well; not indeed because they are Christians, but because their manners are conformable to their faith*."

Hence it was that St. Elizabeth was so persecuted by Agnes, the young landgrave's sister, and her mother. Her crime was despising the pomps of the world, which they loved; it was her preference of Jesus Christ, in the persons of his poor, to the charms of polite society. For the same reason, St. Stanislas Kostka suffered persecution from his brother Paul, and his tutor Bilinski; for the former, regarding the saintly manners of the youth as a censure of his own, treated him continually with insults, and often struck and beat him; and the latter, being in his interest, pretended formally to condemn St. Stanislas for neglecting what he owed to his rank in the world.

It was against such victims that the slanderous tongue was often directed, from which persecution not even the innocence of St. Rosa of Lima, or the purity of the empress St. Cunegonde, could escape. It has been said, that the spirit of moderation, and a certain wisdom of conduct, leave men in obscurity; and the ancient philosophers indulge in many curious observations respecting the grounds of secret dislike with which the just will be regarded by those around them,

"You complain," says Epictetus, "that you are not invited to entertainments like others; but you should remember that as you do not perform the same things, you cannot be thought worthy of the same recompense: for how can it be doing the same to go to the door of some one, and not to go to it? to omit some thing and not to omit it, to praise and not to praise? Therefore you will be unjust and insatiable, if, not paying the price for which these things are sold, you should wish nevertheless to receive them. For how much is the lettuce sold? Perhaps for an obol. Whoever then gives the obol, should take the lettuce; but you must not have it, who refuse to pay the money; nor yet are you to suppose that you have less than he who receives it; for as he has his lettuce, so have you your obol. In like manner you are not invited to any one's house. But you do

* In Ps. xc.

not give to him who invites, the price for which he sells his supper. He sells it for praise; he sells it for obsequious service. Give then the price; but if you do not choose to pay for it, and yet crave after the entertainment, you are insatiable and absurd. Have you then nothing instead of the supper? Truly you have your equivalent. You have your not praising the man whom you inwardly despise." We may remark here, that the simple holy manners, resulting from a Catholic education and the domestic traditions of a noble and religious family, expose men to a sentence of exile from the houses of all those persons who have not possessed the same advantages.

"J'eus dans ma blonde enfance, hélas! trop éphémère,
Trois maîtres,—un jardin, un vieux prêtre et ma mère."

Then whatever be your age or genius, back to your Gothic manor, surrounded with tall trees, where in the autumn you can indulge your melancholy, treading on the old leaves, and hearkening to the plaintive sound of the wind, through those that are about to fall. But if you approach our precincts, expect not our society.

Your mere preference of assisting at Benediction, to sitting at our table, disqualifies you for the circle in which we move. Your maxim, if you would join it, must be that of the old Roman, only with decent reserve.

"Ad cœnam si me diversa vocaret in astra
Hinc invitator Cæsaris, inde Jovis;
Astra licet propius, pallatia longius essent,
Responsa ad superos hæc referenda darem:
Quærite, qui malit fieri conviva Tonantis;
Me meus in terris Jupiter, ecce, tenet *."

However you may wish to conciliate our esteem, you will never succeed. There will be always some cause of offence that one can avow, and hear an approving voice. If Ramus could be persecuted under Henry III. of France, for pronouncing Q as in quanquam, and not as kankam, what will be thought of your signs of the cross, and benedicite's, and abstinence, and other eccle-

siastic rites, which you practise, as St. Augustin says, "in order to be consistent."

The duc de Saint Simon, speaking of the offence taken at the piety of the duc de Bourgogne, which, he says, incensed even the king, mentions one trait amongst a thousand, as having put the king quite off his guard, and revolted the court, which only consisted in the young prince desiring to evince this consistency in regard to the festival of the Epiphany ; for the court being at Marly, he declined appearing at the ball, alleging that it was a triple festival ; and that without presuming to blame others, he preferred remaining the whole evening in his chamber, rather than take part in such an amusement on so holy a day. The king was piqued, indignant ; he said that such conduct was a condemnation of himself. The courtiers represented it as wanting in the respect due from a subject : the historian himself condemned it as extravagant. Yet assuredly the Church viewed it not in such a light. St. Augustin even desired that in common society the days of the week should be named *feriæ* according to their number, following the ecclesiastical mode, as more suitable to Christian lips than that derived from pagan usage. In the middle ages, a thousand customs were popular, which served to distinguish Catholic families from those of Jews, Moors, and heretics, which, if observed in these latter days, would render any man an object of suspicion to this new kind of anomalous nobility, which could not survive the loss of its titles, being not founded in a name. If you adhere to these usages, and it is hard to give them up while retaining any trait from Catholic times of historical grandeur in the memory, you will be avoided, and marked as one with whom there can be no strict fellowship : you will be able to apply to yourself the words, "*Considerabam et videbam, et non erat qui cognosceret me.*" You will be left alone, like Dante, deprived of all intercourse with any but with young persons, or the poor, exposed perhaps within view of others, even in the streets, if you pass near the rich saunterers, to the finger and the look of scorn.

Nor be amazed at this ; for men who had the least resemblance to the type you follow, have always experienced the same treatment from a society of analogous

dispositions. Martial therefore addresses Fabian in the lines,

"Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore verus,
Quid tibi vis, urbem qui, Fabiane, petis?
Unde miser vives? homo fidus, certus amicus:
Hoc nihil est."

Observe how the Roman philosopher was abandoned by his friend Marcellinus. "Raro ad nos venit," he says, "nulla alia ex causa, quam quia audire verum timet; a quo periculo jam abest." There can be little pleasure to either party from an intercourse between men, when like Charles II., one of them being admonished respecting his vicious life, deems it enough to reply, that the other who advises him is in the wrong, and has an understanding different from all other men who have experience in the world.

In truth it must needs be so. Men of views so opposite, and manners so dissimilar, cannot but cause each other mutual embarrassment. "Nous nous ennuierions les uns les autres," said a French minister, on leaving the court.

In the *Theætetus*, Plato remarks, "that even if there were no other cause of offence, true philosophers would be disliked in consequence of their attaching little importance to the fact of other men possessing immense estates, and being able to reckon a long succession of rich ancestors. Being accustomed εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ βλέπειν, and therefore to look with indifference on such distinctions, they are disdained by the vulgar as ignorant of the first and most common things of life, and considered as presumptuous and insolent;" a fate which must be shared by those who have drunk of that Catholic philosophy which makes all men feel on an equality, as far as regards the differences of fortune, and which exempts them from the desire of paying court to any one, however rich or powerful; for in consequence of evincing that indifference, they will be secretly disliked by those who expect to be courted. The Pythagorean poet's ὁδὸν Διὸς is set down as the way of the weak or superannuated. Thus, alluding to the last years of the great Condé, which were spent in retirement and piety, Voltaire says, "Il ne fut que son ombre, et que même il ne resta rien de lui." If we repair to the scenes of ordinary life, we find the same

consequences attending religion. How should the devout woman and the woman of the world find it otherwise? The one, however exalted in station, desires in her house the holy calm of past times. She has been taught, as a French writer who contrasts them says *, not to waste her youth in those thousand trifles and senseless passions, which are a source to others of eternal regret. She has been taught, that it is her duty to remain faithful to God, faithful to the Church, separated from heretics. She is married; she becomes a mother, and is a tender and serious one. If women of the world say of her, She is stupid and eccentric; her servants and the poor say, She is an angel. There is no idleness in her house, no contemptible futility; the whole day is employed. There are no vanities in her house, no secret notes, no adulterous papers. She receives few letters, for she has nothing to learn from without, or when she receives any, they are letters written on coarse paper, and scarcely legible, coming from poor suffering humanity. Her amusements are not those of paltry ambition, and the ruinous display of frail prosperity. She has, however, the finest fêtes in the world. She celebrates in all their seriousness, the festivals of the Church throughout the year, the patrons of her children and of her aged kindred. She has for herself all the joys of the holy calendar, the festivities of heaven and earth. Her visits are to the poor, to the cottages, or to the roofs beneath which one burns in summer and shivers in winter; there are her dramas. She is seldom seen in the public drives, softly extended in her carriage, as if she lay on a bed of parade; but to the church and to the hospital; she is familiar with the streets: "Lead me to the street near the cathedral, for from that point I shall know my way home to my father's house," says the maiden Leocadia, in the tale of Cervantes, entitled the Force of Blood, to the wretch who had captured her. In a word, if they meet one another, the woman of the world, who retains any memory of truth, feels ashamed, discouraged, and for that reason, at least, secretly exasperated.

One could account for the repugnance by even referring to the observation of the old philosophy.

* Janin.

Alcibiades used to fly from Socrates, fearing the secret charm of his wise discourse, and that self-reproach which he always felt when sitting near him, knowing that he could never answer him, or justify himself, for not doing what he called on him to do. *ξύνουδα γάρ*, he says, *ἑμαυτῷ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένῳ ὥς οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἃ οὗτος κελεύει· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπέλθω, ἡττημένῳ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἐραπειτεύω οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ φεύγω· καὶ ὅταν ἴδω, αἰσχύνομαι τὰ ὠμολογημένα, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἡδέως αὖ ἰδοίμι αὐτὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐν ἀνθρωποῖς *.*

Here is a frank confession. After hearing it, who will wonder that the society of the faithful, in manners as well as in faith catholic, should at times at least experience the fate which the philosopher ascribes to true philosophy: "A plerisque neglecta, a multis etiam vituperetur†?" But it may be urged, perhaps, that this neglect should not be noticed among the persecutions of the just. It is true we cannot suppose that the elect of God can feel as a privation the being rejected from the society of those who follow the world's banner; or that, like the sophist of Geneva, they unite the obscurity of retreat with the desire of being universally known: but still, as indicating the malevolence of others, they cannot, being after all men, and more than others qualified for all offices of love, become insensible to its systematic manifestation. Speaking of Nicole's treatise on the means of preserving peace with men, Madame de Sevigné observes that "the indifference which he requires for the esteem or censure of the world, implies a perfection above humanity; that she is less capable of comprehending it than any one, though she derives pleasure from listening to him, and that, by dint of ascertaining the justice of an argument, she may possibly be led to make use of it on certain occasions." Religion, indeed, was known to approve of such timid language; and we may remark too, that for every transient discouragement that flesh is heir to, the Catholic Church has words of sympathy. To how many hearts do her words penetrate, when at sext she sings that affecting confession of David, so expressive of the profound sadness arising often from an accumulation of these lesser wounds and of its remedy: "Nisi quod

* Plat. Conviv.

† Tuscul. iv.

lex tua meditatio mea est: tunc forte periissem in humilitate mea!"

"Must not the lovers of wisdom," asks Socrates, "desire to please those with whom they live?" "Assuredly, therefore," he adds, "as these latter necessarily hate those who love wisdom, how will it be possible to preserve the philosophic nature?" To him the difficulty seemed to admit of no solution, as he knew not the secret of the divine wisdom, which consisted in receiving neglect and all mortifications as part of the burden of the cross; but even for those possessed of that secret, the need and practice of it implied a trial of patience amounting to persecution, however they might be magnanimous in submitting to vituperation and calumny, from which the man after God's own heart prayed that he might be saved. Therefore, after citing the divine words, "*Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines et cum separaverint vos, et exprobraverint et ejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam malum, propter Filium hominis,*" Albertus Magnus remarks that the word is *eritis*, not *estis*; "for, truly," saith he, "in enduring there is misery, though after enduring the most certain beatitude *."

"That which is pleasing to others will go forward; that which thou wouldst have will not succeed: that which others say will be hearkened to; what thou sayest will not be regarded: others will ask, and will receive; thou wilt ask, and not obtain. Others will be great in the estimation of men; but of thee no notice will be taken. To others, this or that will be committed; but thou wilt be accounted fit for nothing. At this, nature will sometimes repine, and it will be no small matter if thou bear it in silence†." It is the ascetic who speaks thus.

"The injustice of the world towards the good has three characters," as Massillon observes; "an injustice of temerity which always suspects their intentions, an injustice of inhumanity which never pardons them for the least imperfection, an injustice of impiety which makes their zeal and sanctity a subject of contempt and derision. And these again he subdivides, finding in the first a temerity of indiscretion, since it judges of what it cannot know, a temerity of corruption, since generally it only ascribes to others what it finds in itself; and, in

* Albert. Mag. in Luc. v. tom. x.

† Imit. lib. iii. 49.

fine, a temerity of contradiction, since the same suspicions which it thinks well-founded against others, would be considered, if directed against itself, unjust and insane."

But now, descending further down this dismal ledge, new pains, new troubles I behold, at which my heart is with sore grief assailed; for persecutions on account of justice extended beyond the limits of secular life, and sometimes followed men of eminent sanctity even to the very sanctuary of peace within the cloister. When the three holy canons of Rheims, of whom one was St. Bruno, accused their archbishop Manasses, who oppressed his flock by tyrannical vexations, the legate of the Pope, having cited him in consequence to appear before the council at Autun, to which summons he refused to listen, that unworthy prelate, being exasperated against them, caused their houses to be broken open, and their property seized. They fled to the castle of the count de Ronci, where they remained, as in an asylum, while their persecutor, although deposed, wrote against them to the Pope.

Within the cloister those monastic abuses already spoken of, those perverse men under the religious hood, to whom we alluded in the last book, were a fruitful source of trial to the blessed saints, who sought to correct and reform them. I have delayed till now to speak of this; for while under the roof of the house of peace, I was deterred from approaching the subject by that maxim of the Benedictine rule, which, in allusion to the Sarabais or worthless men who become monks, says, "*De quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui **;" but the fact cannot be passed over in silence any longer; though, on proceeding to make mention of it, the reader should be warned from imitating those who conceal the justice of the monks, and hear but the report of their accusers, who never mention shadows of any virtue in the men they would depress; like the sad raven that

"Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
Her pleasant gardens and delightsome parks,

• Reg. cap. i.

Seeming to curse them with his hoarse exclaims,
And yet doth stoop, with hungry violence,
Upon a piece of hateful carrion.

Persecution within the cloister existed occasionally under two forms. Men of eminent sanctity suffered it from degenerate brethren, sometimes simply on account of their superior justice, and, at others, in consequence of their endeavour to correct and reform them. Of the former, an instance occurred in the monastery of Classe, when the piety and austerities of St. Romuald raised an odium against him in the minds of some tepid monks, and, in order to avoid the effects of their wicked hatred, he obtained the abbot's consent to leave the house, when he put himself under the direction of St. Marinus. Afterwards, when elected abbot of that house, which office he was compelled to accept by the bishops, at the instance of the emperor Otho III., his inflexible justice caused many to rise against him, whose violence he bore with gentleness, till, finding them incurable, he again left the monastery, and resigned the abbatial office. Another example was seen in the mortifications suffered by St. Joseph Calasancius; for, having admitted into his order, for the education of youth, an unworthy member, he was persecuted by him with the most outrageous violence. The holy man saw all his intentions frustrated by him, and his order suppressed; what could be more painful than to see all his hopes blasted by the machinations of a wicked man? But he did not murmur. Let us hear an instance of the kind minutely related in an ancient chronicle. "It happened once that the pious Gobert, a monk of Villers, set out on a journey about some affairs, in company with another monk of the convent, named Peter. Arriving late in the evening in a certain town, where they were to pass the night, being fatigued and exhausted with the labour and heat of the day, Peter having caused a table to be spread, produced out of a bag which he carried, abundant provisions, and ordered cups to be served and many things made ready. It seemed to the pious Gobert that here was more than what was necessary, and more than agreed with perfect moderation: he silently accused his conscience; but after both had supped he did not dare at that time to reveal to his brother what passed within his soul: but early the

next morning, as they were riding through umbrageous lanes, he began humbly and mildly to disclose his thoughts, and to say that he feared lest the expense which had been made yesterday, was beyond what their wants required, and that the patrimony of Christ ought not to be spent in superfluities, but given to the poor; that beneficed clerks are only dispensers of the Church, not lords of its substance; for, as St. Ambrose says, when we assist the poor, we give not our own, but that which the Church appoints us to dispense; therefore ecclesiastical goods do not belong to clerks, but to the poor of Christ. Saying these and other things, Gobert lamented that he should have squandered money which did not belong to him: but brother Peter did not receive this reproof with a humble mind; for, on the contrary, he felt so angry, that he did not answer him a word. So they rode on for nearly three hours, and Peter would make no answer to Gobert; which the holy man observing, began to try every gentle mode of soothing him, and of turning away his displeasure, speaking to him in the mildest tone and with the sweetest words. At last he said, 'My brother, it is time for us to discharge the service of hours to our Creator;' to which invitation the other silently assented; so, according to the custom of the Cistercians and all monastic orders, they dismounted from their horses, and knelt down to begin the office. When brother Peter was prostrate on the earth, Gobert, with joined hands, turned towards him, and bursting into tears, humbly implored his forgiveness, for having by correction moved his wrath; but as his prayers did not seem to move the other, he continued to implore him, and he declared that he would never rise from his knees till he had forgiven him; at length, brother Peter raised him up with indulgence. Such was the admirable humility of this man, beloved of God, and adorned with all virtues*." Thus far the chronicle, in the sufferings of one, recording those of many. But it was chiefly as reformers of their respective communities or orders, that the holy men of monastic life suffered persecution on account of justice.

In estimating the fortitude of the saints who laboured

* *Historia Monast. Villariensis*, ap. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii.

in this vineyard, one should observe, that there never were wanting some specious arguments, and some men of talents, to excuse the evil for which they sought a remedy. Orderic Vitalis mentions, that the monks of St. Benedict, who resisted the reform introduced by the abbot Robert in the time of Philip, king of France, defended themselves on this ground, urging that the different circumstances of the times required a life different from that of the hermits of Egypt. "God forbid," said they, "that valiant knights, that subtle philosophers and eloquent doctors, because they have renounced the world, should be obliged as mean slaves to occupy themselves in ignoble works and little suitable *!"

The real source of hostility, however, on these occasions was seldom avowed. Much was advanced in the time of St. Bernard, respecting the venerable usages of past times in respect to the colour of habits; but St. Peter the venerable, in writing to that holy abbot, disengaged the question from its adventitious appendages. "Perhaps," said he, "there is another cause, deeper still, of this dissension between the Cluniacs and Cistercians, between ancient and the more modern communities. We are restorers of piety that was grown cold; we are distinguished from others in manners, as well as in habits and customs: behold, behold, the more hidden, but far more urgent cause for the breach of charity and for the sharpening of tongues like a sword against us. And oh! lamentable boast, to be lamented with never-sufficient tears, if the pure chastity of a long life, if invincible obedience, if unbroken fasts, if perpetual vigils, if such a yoke of discipline, if so many palms of patience, and, in short, if so many labours, not so much of an earthly as of a celestial life, should be dispersed by one hiss of the serpent; if the old dragon should thus in an instant, with one breath, dissipate all your treasures, collected by the grace of God, and render you empty in the sight of the supreme Judge †."

Sometimes, when a monastery fell under the dominion of an evil superior, the monks who persevered in sanctity fled from his persecution. Thus the historian of St. Gall says: "For ever to be deplored is the day, by us and

* *Historia Monast. Villariensis*, ap. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* tom. viii.

† *Epist. lib. iv. p. 17.*

by all the inhabitants of this place, in which this noble and flourishing monastery, which can be called another paradise, passed under the rule of Kerhard. The brethren, beholding all his evil, and having no hope that he would cease as long as he lived, chose to leave the monastery and become exiles, rather than sustain any longer the sight of his folly and incontinence *."

St. Gautier, before becoming abbot of the canons regular of Esterp in Limousin, in the tenth century, for making some remonstrance on the observance of discipline, while a canon of Dorat, drew on himself the indignation of the prior, and was obliged to retire to Conflans, near the abbey of which he soon became superior.

St. Richard, prior of the Benedictine monastery of our Lady in York, with twelve others, desiring to serve God according to the rule, and restore the ancient discipline of that house, was obliged to leave the monastery, after enduring innumerable persecutions from the lukewarm brethren who were unwilling to have a reform; and it was then that, Thurstan, the archbishop of York, giving them a desert valley called Scheldale, they founded the afterwards far-famed abbey of Fountains in 1132. When the lord abbot heard of their intention, he told the archbishop that he could not promise to effect it without the consent of his chapter; and on the day of the chapter, when the archbishop arrived with some of his clerks, the abbot met him at the door, and refused to admit him unless he sent away some of his clerks. A tumultuous sound arose of angry voices, declaring that he should not enter. The archbishop said that he came as a father; but as they rejected his authority, he should provide for their necessity by exerting it against them. The monks who sought the reform were however obliged to remove for safety to the archiepiscopal residence until the others had been compelled to cease their persecution†. Sometimes those who endeavoured to effect a reform, even with the authority of superiors, drew persecution on themselves. This was the case at the monastery of Lerins about the year 700, when St. Aigulfe, the abbot, and thirty-two monks, were murdered in consequence of their attempt to esta-

* Burkhard de Casibus S. Galli.

† S. Bernard, Ep. ccccxxxix.

blish a reform. On these occasions, the unworthy monks used to win over some seigneurs of the country to use force of arms against those who were more holy.

The monks of Vicovara, though they had chosen St. Benedict for their abbot, conspired to destroy him when they found that he was resolved upon reforming their manners. Then when he had returned to Subiaco, the reputation of his virtues caused Florentinus, a neighbouring priest, to persecute and slander him, from whom he had to remove lest he should inflame the envy of his adversary.

When St. Colette, in the fifteenth century, being constituted by Pope Benedict XIII. superioress of the whole order of St. Clare, attempted to revive the primitive rule and spirit of St. Francis in several convents in France, she met with the most violent opposition, and was treated as a fanatic by those who knew not to distinguish the work of God; until passing to Savoy, where minds were better prepared, she effected the reform which soon extended to the entire order.

St. Andrew Avellino, for labouring to reform abuses which had crept into a religious community, of which the direction was confided to him, experienced many contradictions. He was even exposed to violence from the rage of certain profligate men whom he excluded from entering the parlour to speak to the nuns, and who twice attempted his life in consequence.

St. Adon, afterwards archbishop of Vienne, suffered persecution from the jealousy of some unworthy monks in Prum, who succeeded by calumnies and injuries in driving him from that monastery, where, while professor of sacred sciences, he had laboured to make true servants of God. He was expelled the house, and oppressed by slanders.

While some thus suffered for reforming particular communities, others were exposed to a more fearful persecution by their labours in restoring whole orders to their primitive discipline.

When St. Theresa first formed the design of reforming her order according to the primitive rule, though encouraged by the approbation of many, the consent of the provincial, and a brief from Rome, there was a cry raised against her, which resounded through all ranks of society. The nuns of her convent, the nobles, the magi-

strates, and the people, united to oppose her. Reproaches, injuries, calumnies, all were employed while she retained her peace in silence. It was even determined to demolish her new convent at Avila; and the chief magistrates at one time declared they would not suffer it, though it was to furnish the spectacle of the fervour and innocence of the first ages of the Church. But the holy project triumphed over all opposition.

When St. John of the Cross was labouring to effect the reform of the Carmelite order, though it was undertaken by St. Theresa with the approbation of the general, his own brethren treated him as a rebel to the order, and persecuted him, and in their chapter at Placentia condemned him as a fugitive and apostate. He was thrown into prison, first at Avila, and then, through fear of the people there, at Toledo. In the convent in the latter city he was confined in a little cell, only six feet wide and ten long, without any opening for light, but a hole of about three inches in length in the roof, so that to say his breviary he was obliged to stand upon a bench which was left there; and this opening was only to the floor of a gallery above, so that the light was very dim. In this prison he remained nine months, while no one knew what had become of him; for he was carried off forcibly during the night of the 4th of December, 1577, from the monastery of the Incarnation at Avila; and all the efforts of St. Theresa, aided by the authority of the king, were ineffectual to trace him to the place of his confinement*. His miraculous escape, of which the account by his own pen is extant, did not prevent him from always recurring to this persecution as a source of his illumination. "God has taught me the value of sufferings," he used to say, "when I was in prison at Toledo." Again, in 1591, when in the chapter held at Madrid he gave his opinion with freedom respecting the abuses which some superiors tolerated, or wished to introduce, fresh offence was taken. Being in consequence stripped of all the employments which he held in the order, he retired to the convent of Pegnuela as a simple friar. In like manner, St. Charles Borromeo, attempting the reform of the order of the Humiliati, which had fallen into great relaxations, such enmity was excited against him that his life was attempted,

* Dosithée, Vie de S. J. de la Croix, liv. iii.

one of these deluded men shooting at him in the chapel of his palace, when the ball struck him, and he was preserved unhurt.

But no instance is more memorable than that of the persecutions endured by the poor and simple men, disciples of St. Francis, who sought at different times to revive the spirit and the discipline of their blessed founder*. They occur early in its history; for when Elie, the general who immediately succeeded St. Francis, deemed it necessary to make alterations in the rule †, St. Anthony of Padua, and an English friar named Adam, for opposing him were treated as seditious brethren, and sentenced to confinement in their cells; the execution of which decree they only avoided by flight to Rome, where their appeal to Pope Gregory IX. caused the deposition of the superior. The last reform of the order was not effected without long and cruel sufferings; and the persecutions which the poor Capuchins suffered at the commencement gave rise to singular scenes, which in their old annals should be read. In 1534, when the Pope Clement VII. thought it best to yield to the storm, and to expel them from Rome for a season, he published an edict, commanding all Capuchins who were in Rome to leave the city within the space that one candle would continue to give light. It was on St. Mark's day, and at the hour of dinner, while the Capuchins were at table, that this decree was made known to them. The superior having read it aloud, made a short moving exhortation to patience and obedience, and then all rose: each took his breviary, and raising up their wooden cross, they left the convent, walking two by two, and proceeded without the walls to the Basilica of St. Lorenzo; explaining their exit to those who inquired with astonishment, by saying that they were sinners unworthy to remain within the sacred city. It is said that their adversaries, on proceeding to their convent, where they found the crusts of bread, and the poor onions and beans in earthen dishes on the table in the refectory, which had not a cloth to cover it, and the portions only half-consumed of the brethren, who had broken off their dinner to yield instant obedience, and

* Apparat. ad Annales Capucinatorum, 15.

† M. Chavin de Malan defends him for so doing. Hist. de S. Francis, 246.

nothing but the hard boards for beds in the cells, and the wooden crosses, and the few books of devotion, and no other furniture, were struck to the heart, and repented of what they had done. Meanwhile the friars were found prostrate in the church of St. Lorenzo, where the holy family of the Lateran canons, who serve that Basilica, gave them lodging and the most generous hospitality. Meanwhile Brandan, a certain hermit, greatly venerated in Rome, went about the streets, crying out, "Rome receives adulterers and slaves of the demon, while she banishes the servants of God. Usurers and oppressors of the poor can remain, but the saints of the Church are ejected from her bosom. Woe to thee, Rome! who disdainest the Capuchin masters of humility, and dost embrace marble statues, which teach Gentilism and pride." The Roman people were so alarmed by these vociferations, which he continued to utter during three days, that the adversaries of the Capuchins durst hardly appear in public. Then Camillus Ursino, their old protector, hastened to Rome, and made such good use of his interest, that the decree against them was revoked, and they were permitted to return, though not processionally, and to inhabit again their former convent*.

Nor was it only at Rome that they suffered. When they first came to Verona they were treated injuriously as hypocrites, and not permitted to say mass. No less a person than John of Fano, formerly provincial of the Franciscans, was one of those calumniated men. In vain had he attempted several times to gain an audience of the bishop Matthew Gilbertus; the servants, thinking him a nefarious person, would never suffer him to pass the threshold. At length it happened, that one day the bishop looking from his window saw John, and being struck with his venerable aspect, ordered him to be admitted. Then having questioned him concerning his rule and mode of life, and finding by his answers of what perfection he was, he conceived a great affection for him, and even charged him on the next Sunday to preach to the people. The result of this sermon was a total change of the public opinion at Verona, respecting the Capuchins and the foundations of a monastery in that city for their reception†.

* *Annales Capucinatorum* ad ann. 1534.

† *Do.* ann. 1539.

It should be observed, that amidst all the persecutions and obloquy to which the Capuchins were exposed, a vast number of great and learned men every year chose to share in their reproach, and passed to them from the other Franciscans; thus renouncing all things on account of Him who for our sakes was made poor.

After the apostasy of Ochin, a fresh storm broke over the poor family of the Capuchins. Paul III. convened the sacred college, and the cardinals were generally of opinion that the order should be suppressed. The pontiff was inclined to accede to their opinion; and those who sat next him were urgent to have the affair terminated at once. Alone Antonio Sanseverino, and some few other cardinals, remained silent with dejected looks. The pontiff remarked his long silence and his dejected air, and said, "Why, cardinal, are you alone silent, as if you had not liberty here to speak freely? Tell us at once what you think on this question." Heaven gave such force to the words of Sanseverino in the discourse which he then proceeded to deliver, that the Pope and the other cardinals were determined to change their previous resolution; and from that hour the Capuchins have always regarded the illustrious family of the Sanseverini as having been, under God, the second founders of their order*.

These were distressing scenes, but yet full of divine action, since they furnished an occasion of exercising great virtue by those not engaged in the dissension, who protected the good cause, heedless of personal inconvenience and injury; for then it was that Victoria Colonna, marchioness of Alerni, Ascanius Colonna, Camillus Ursino, Nicolas Buffalino, and other Roman nobles, extended their benevolent protection to the persecuted order. The noble family also of Bentivolio at Ferrara, in peace and war equally illustrious, took these holy men under its protection, and founded a convent for them in that city†. But, above all, it was Catherine Cibo, duchess of Camerino, who like a mother protected them at their commencement. Not undeservedly does the wise man say, "*Fundamenta æterna supra petram solidam, et mandata Dei in corde mulieris sanctæ‡.*" "For such

* *Annales Capucinatorum* ad ann. 1543. † *Id.* 1529. 1533.

‡ *Eccl.* xxvi.

love," adds the annalist of the order, "had this noble woman for the new reform of the Capuchins, that she seemed raised up by God for its nurse and mother *." "When these first Capuchins excited the resentment of the superiors of the observance, who represented them as apostates, the duke and duchess of Camerino received most harsh letters from the minister of the province, condemning them for suffering these friars to take refuge in their states, and even in their palace. The duke's reply, a model of good sense, firmness, and respect, furnished then a striking instance that laical docility may be united with a just discrimination and a magnanimous protection of the oppressed †." Such then is the episode of monastic history which I had reserved for the present book, as more immediately belonging to the results of instruction in the spirit of the eighth beatitude, in relation to which we may now resume our general history of Catholic manners.

We have seen the consequences of goodness in the ordinary society of men. But it was not alone on account of interior sanctity and exterior justice of life, that Catholics suffered persecution even in the ages of greatest faith. That spiritual illumination, that mystic wisdom, resulting from the union with God, which was enjoyed by the blessed clean of heart, produced the same effects, and exposed them of itself to persecution, independently of every other cause. Those splendours of the blessed wreath, which Dante saw, like the eternal light of Siger‡, escaped not envy when arguing of truth. And here again the wisdom of the ancients might be summoned to our aid in answering those who might in consequence be prejudiced. "The praises of other men," said Pericles, "are endurable; so far as each person thinks that he can himself do what he hears of others doing; but if any one exceed that limit, men become envious and incredulous." Thus it is with the supereminent gift of which we are now to speak. It is superhuman, supernatural; to acquire it, the highest graces must be asked for and employed; therefore it is regarded with displeasure, and treated as a delusion. In regard to it, as the Greek

* *Annales Capucinatorum*, ad an. 1525.

† *Id.* an. 1527.

‡ Siger of Brabant, or of Courtray. D'Artaud, *Hist. de Dante*, 423.

said, men are envious and incredulous. Men of the world in Christian times might stigmatize the intellectual elevation of the holy with every opprobrious epithet: they did nothing but what the Pagans had done from the beginning to those amongst them, who were of superior discernment in things relating to the soul; and their own poet pronounces it "an evil shame, which makes one among the insane fear to pass for insane*." What does Plato say on this point? He observes, "that the just, who do not wish to act unjustly towards those who injure them, are regarded as the most wretched of men, ἀθλιωτάτους †." He shows further, that "people of the world, being convinced that secret injustice is the most useful conduct, esteem whoever differs from them, and who is really and universally desirous of being good, as a person deficient also in abilities; ἀθλιώτατος καὶ ἀνοητότατος ‡." "Although," he adds, "they may avoid saying so openly, and on the contrary praise him." In the *Theætetus* he shows that a lover of wisdom, on going into the world, will be ridiculed and esteemed a man of no understanding; that he will be considered weak, absurd; and that on every occasion he will be derided and treated as a haughty disgusting person, ignorant of the most common things of life, and subject to continual misery. The man whom he supposes let out of the cave, and then returning again to his former companions, who are still within it, would seem to them, he says, to have lost his senses; and if he were to attempt to loose others, and to lead them out with him, the rest, if they could, would rise and kill him§. That men of eminent wisdom are considered insane by the insane, was the remark of Varro too, who says, "Nam ut arquatio et veterosis lutea quæ non sunt æque ut lutea videntur, sic insanis sani et furiosis videntur insani." Hippocrates supplies a memorable instance in the letter in which he describes his visit to Democritus. When he was sent for by the people of Abdera, that he might cure the supposed madness of their philosopher, who had retired from among men to lead a solitary, and, as they affirmed, an extravagant life, the physician on landing was greeted by crowds of men and women, nay even by boys and

* Hor. Sat. ii. 3.

† De Repub. i.

‡ Id. lib. ii.

§ Id. lib. vi.

children, all sad on account of Democritus. They ran before him, and on each side, to guide him to the retreat of the eccentric creature ; for so they termed their wisest man. After leaving the walls, and coming into the fields, he found a high hill covered with many tall and thick trees, and under their shade he beheld Democritus, who sat alone under a platanus, barefooted and covered with an old tunic, pale and emaciated, and wearing a long beard. By his side was a rivulet, which sounded as the water passed down the bank and fell upon the rocks ; and on the summit of the hill there was a grove, which seemed sacred to the nymphs. Democritus held a book upon his knees, while several loose sheets were scattered round him on the ground, along with the limbs of animals which he had been dissecting. Sometimes he would write with great earnestness, and then, after a little, he seemed to repress himself and to pause for meditation. The Abderitans with a sad countenance looked upon Hippocrates, and could scarcely refrain from tears.—“ See,” they said, “ how mad he is ; and how he does not know what he ought to wish or do ! ” Hippocrates, however, is not so easily convinced of the madness of his patient, but leaving the people below he ascends the hill and accosts him. After a short conversation he discovers the mistake. The philosopher, who receives him with grace and dignity, informs him that he is writing upon madness, and proceeds to point out the madness of the irritated crowd who are wondering at him below, and ascribing his retired solitary life to madness ; while, on the contrary, it is they who are miserably deluded, loving a calamitous and obscure earth, and calumniously ridiculing that which is above them ; devoted to the insane love of gold and pleasure, and hating those who speak the truth ; never satisfied, and perverting all things to their lust ; laughing at the crimes of others, and blind to their own. “ ‘ This it is,’ ” he adds, “ ‘ which gives rise to my laughter, when I see these wicked men, these slaves of avarice, of insatiable cupidity, enmity, and envy, paying the penalty of their crimes. There is no medicine to cure them, O Hippocrates ; no Pæonian medicament. Your predecessor Æsculapius himself perished miserably for having endeavoured to serve them : οὐχ ὁρῶς ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος μισανθρωπίης πεπλήρωται ; there is no know-

ledge of truth, and no testimony.' Saying these words, he smiled again; and, O Damagetus, he seemed to me as if he were invested with a divine dignity, and as if he had laid aside his human form. And I said to him, 'O noble Democritus, I shall bear back with me great gifts and pledges of your hospitality; for you have filled me with the admiration of wisdom. I depart the herald of your truth; for you have investigated and meditated upon human nature.' Saying this, I rose up and descended to the people, who were all waiting for me at the foot of the hill, and I said to them, 'O men, I am greatly indebted to you for your embassy; for I have seen Democritus, the wisest of men, who alone is able to make men wise *.'"

The fate of Empedocles of whom the poet says,

" Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus,"

was a memorable instance of the danger of imparting those high lessons which he styled *καθαρμοί*, as professing to teach how to purify and perfect the soul; and the comedies of Aristophanes, after making due allowance for all that the sophists really deserved, furnish another illustration of the mind and manner adopted by profane men towards those who represent before their contemporaries the religious and the wise, in regard to whom they are disposed even to reverse the meaning of terms, in order that virtues may be made to appear ridiculous and hateful, and that, according to the expression of Thucydides, speaking of the Greeks, they may be laughed down, οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας—καὶ τὸ εὖθες (οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει) καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη †.

— " Probus quis

Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo; illi

Tardo cognomen pingui et damus.

Communi sensu plane caret, inquitur †."

He can be calumniated and ridiculed too with impunity, by men who think with Meno the Thessalian, that the perjured and profligate are persons to be feared as well armed, but that any one may trifle with the holy,

* Hippocratis Epist.

† Lib. iii.

‡ Hor. Sat. i. 3.

and the worshippers of truth *. At all times, says the poet, it is easy to cheat the good ;

— “ *semper bonus homo tiro est †.* ”

Some may stand in need of these observations of the ancient world, to prepare them for witnessing the treatment experienced by persons of great spiritual illumination in the Church, from that class of Christians which St. Augustine designates as the chaff: for history commemorates no man possessed of that high mystic wisdom, which belongs, as a divine privilege, to those who in the Catholic Church are truly humble, who has escaped the ridicule of his contemporaries—that persecution which Albertus Magnus styles, “ *sagittæ parvulorum ‡.* ”

When Bernard de Quintavelle was sent by St. Francis to raise the poverty and folly of the cross against the proud wisdom of the philosophers of Bologna, he was received with many insults. While the people mocked him, and the children pulled him by the hood, and threw stones at him, the learned regarded him with that look of scorn which wounds more deeply than any blow. When St. Francis, in the camp of the crusaders, asked the friar who was with him, whether he ought to make known his opinion respecting the measure about to be adopted, observing that if he divulged it, he would be regarded as a fool, the other replied, “ *Frater, pro minimo tibi sit ut ab hominibus judiceris, quia non modo incipis fatuus reputari §.* ” In fact, men of that pure ascetic grace, who in each act and word evince those delicate, subdued, delicious tones, which indicate the hand of the greatest artist, are from the first disdained as insignificant persons, by those who regard humility and charity as a deficiency of talent. If with the highest gifts endowed, each of these at some period or other of his life must have been treated as incompetent, perhaps as a dangerous visionary, à communi hominum sensu abhorrentem, or despised as one led away by the dreams of a devout imagination, by which was meant “ an exaggerated idealist, who, soaring always in the clouds, uselessly

* Xenoph. Anab. ii. 6.

† In Ps. lxi. 3.

‡ Martial.

§ St. Bonav. c. xi.

strove to realize the impracticable." Like Theoclymenus, after warning the high-fed suitors, of whom Homer said,

— οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺ γέλασαν,

he receives no answer but what is conveyed in laughter. He may say of himself, in the words of Socrates to the sophists, ἐπὶ ἑμῶν προπηλακίζομαι *, as when the blessed Oriol, of Barcelona, used to be the object of derision and insults, without the least act of his life giving cause; though St. Augustin would say rather that his chief occupation could explain it; since he was one of those who search their spirit, "Et scrutabar spiritum meum." If he had searched the earth to find veins of gold, no one would say that he was foolish; nay, many would proclaim him to be a wise man, who wished to arrive at gold. But if a man digs for what he has within, (and how many things has he within!) then he is despised †.

In the office of St. Francis there is especial mention of the insults suffered from the multitude by the seraphic father; as in this response in the first nocturn, "Squalenti vultu cernitur, putatur insanire. Luto, saxis impetitur, sed patiens vir nititur ut surdus pertransire."

"Attend to the opprobrium of the Church," says St. Augustine, "now and in past times: see the Christians banished, slain, thrown to beasts. As with the head, so with the body. Wherever a Christian is found, he is insulted, derided, called foolish, insane, good for nothing ‡." "The disciple will be treated as his master. And do you ask, Who is there that still derides Christ? I wish there was but one; I wish there were but two; I wish they could be numbered; but the whole multitude of the chaff derides him, while the wheat laments his being derided §." "Multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? the daily question," adds St. Augustin, "of all the foolish and wicked ||." "Quæ interrogatio quotidiana est omnium stultorum et iniquorum;" to whom there is allusion in the prayer, "Ne tradas bestiis ani-

* Plat. Hippias Maj.

‡ In Ps. xxxiv.

† In Ps. lxxvi.

§ In Ps. xxi.

|| In Ps. iv.

mas confitentes tibi!" Who will show them any good? You name St. Louis? In vain: for as the Franciscans tell us of that holy king,

"Sæpius stulti ratione capti
Simplicem, sanctum, nihili putabant;
Gloriæ vanæ quia non studebant
Incolæ cœli *."

You name the great contemplatists, the great mystic lights of the middle ages? Then we may ask, in the words of the old mystery,

"Parles-tu point, Saïhan accusateur,
Persécuteur de tout humain lignaige?"

and reckon with assurance upon that arch-accuser finding instruments to spread abroad his suggestions against them. What are these instruments? "Lukewarm Christians, the worst of all," says St. Augustin, who compares them to decayed beams, while the pagans, he says, are like the trees of the wood, without the Church, which can be made use of afterwards for a good purpose; whereas these rotten timbers, already hewed, and sawed, and polished, and used, are only fit for the fire †. What illustrious saint, what illuminated intelligence, can such men admire or understand? Mark how they treat even the wise men of the ancient world. "Socrates substituted fanatical ideas," says Lord Bolingbroke, "instead of real knowledge." He says again, "that Socrates and Plato were mad enough to think themselves capable of contemplating God, and of abstracting the soul from corporeal senses ‡;" "that Plato treated every subject like a bombast poet, and a mad theologian §;" "that he who reads Plato's works like a man in his senses, will be tempted to think that the author was not so, and that no man ever dreamed so wildly, as this author wrote, about the rewards and punishments of a future state ||." We need not ask how minds constituted after this type, and such were always existing, regarded the great mystic writers of the Catholic Church? Search the whole

* Martyrolog. Francisc. August 25.

† In Ps. xxx.

§ Vol. iii. p. 120.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 113.

|| Vol. iv. p. 347.

calendar, and in vain you will look for one reflecting, in an eminent degree, the light of Christ, that was not by such as these accused, condemned, derided. All exhibited themselves as St. Paul says, “as the ministers of God, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam, ut seductores et veraces.*” What had not St. Thomas of Aquin, St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa, to suffer! How many persons at one time were disposed to distrust the graces showered on the latter, and to intimate their fears of delusion! Even her best friends appeared leagued against her peace. What must not have been the reproach heaped on St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, when even by her sisters of the Carmelite convent in Florence she was for a time despised? many regarding the graces which she had been at first thought to have received, as nothing but illusions.

St. Mary d’Oignies, whom, as the cardinal de Vitry says, no religious person could see while in her ecstasies, or hear speak, without being inflamed and consoled, was an object of derision to the profane, who used to ridicule those who turned out of their way to visit her. St. Joseph de Cupertino was accused before the inquisitors of Naples, as a visionary, by a vicar-general. Even in the convent of Assisi, his superior called him a hypocrite, and treated him with great rigour. Life, though like his in glory shrined, had thus its gleams and shadows.

What contradictions and persecutions were suffered by the whole order of St. Francis collectively, in its commencement†! How many revilers had its seraphic founder, even after having his limbs marked by that angel from the east, with the sign of the living God! which some deemed a thing incredible, so that it was deemed necessary by the supreme pontiff, who with his own eyes beheld it, to prohibit painters from representing him without it, under pain of excommunication.

St. Bernardine of Sienna used sometimes to be persecuted by children, instigated by what they heard their elders say, throwing stones at him in the streets, and by his own relations reproaching him for dishonouring

* 2 Cor. vi.

† Arturus Martyrolog. Francisc. Oralog. a. 19.

his family by what they termed such an abject kind of life.

Remarkable too is the malicious joy with which the profane, urged on by him who in the Sacred Scripture is qualified as "the calumniator," endeavoured to convict such persons of having yielded to the lure of carnal sinners, as in the persecutions by which God permitted that the sanctity of St. Jerome and of Ste. Geneviève should be explored. The former, after the death of Pope Damasus, his protector, bent to the storm and returned to the east. The latter, at one time, seemed to have all persons indiscriminately leagued against her to arraign her innocence, persecuting her as a visionary and hypocrite, because she acknowledged the extraordinary graces she received from heaven; until St. Germain of Auxerre on his journey to England arrived, and by recognising her sanctity, put her calumniators to silence. Still it was not till the year 449, a short time before her death, that the prejudices of the people against her were wholly removed on a renewed attestation of her innocence by that holy bishop. St. Catherine of Sienna, too, was often grossly calumniated, on occasions which she ever seized with joy, to exercise her love for the cross, and for humiliation before her God. The desert itself was not an asylum from such persecution. St. Pachomius, that institutor of the Cœnobites, notwithstanding his eminent sanctity, could not escape calumny. He was cited in the year 348 before a council of bishops at Latopolis, to answer charges brought against him, when he confounded, by humility, the malice of his enemies. St. Macarius the elder, of Egypt, was accused by an abandoned sinner, seized by the people, dragged through a village, beaten, and insulted as a base hypocrite under the garb of a hermit, till God manifested his innocence; and the rage of the people was converted into admiration at his humility and patience.

It would have been easy for all these holy and eminent persons to have escaped such calumnies, by making their lives and thoughts conformable to those of the multitude around them; for in the superiority of the beauteous fruits they bore to those of the world's plants lay the secret of their disgrace: but they would not pay the price required for an exemption, preferring their own sweet gifts to all the praise of worthless men. Concluding his

delightful Philobiblion, Richard de Bury proclaims this fact, as from his own experience: for, saith he, "let those who condemn us for applying so much labour and expense to provide books, cease their censures; let them cease to whisper their satirical commentaries, who would have regarded us with benevolent affection, if we had devoted ourselves to hunting, and to playing at the dice, qui nos fortassis affectu commendassent benevolo, si ferarum venatui, alearumque lusui dominarum applausui vacassemus *."

Truly the piety and laudable activity of persons like himself, exposed to more immediate contact with the world, could hardly have escaped being treated as delusion, when that of the cloistered recluse, as we have seen, was charged with it by partners in his calm retirement.

St. Laurence Justinien having published a charge against certain dissipations, was stigmatized by many as a monk of a narrow scrupulous mind, who sought to make a cloister of the world. On another occasion he was publicly insulted in the streets, and treated as a hypocrite. Such is the language used when avarice overcasts the world with mourning, treading under foot the good, and raising bad men up. The courtiers of Louis XIV. thus represented that the education of the duke of Burgundy was improperly conducted, that he was bred up with a taste for mystical devotion, and for exercises which occupied the time that should have been spent in the acquisition of knowledge suitable to his rank and fortune. The monarch was himself prejudiced against the excellent men who directed it; but the duc de Beauvilliers replied with modesty and firmness, "Sire, I know but of one Gospel; and I believe that I am bound by the duty which I owe to my God and to my king, to neglect nothing that can prepare for France a virtuous sovereign." "I am astonished," writes Madame de Sevigné, "that you accuse our Corbenelli of being infected with a diabolic mysticism. What! a man who thinks only of destroying the empire of the devil; who has constant relations with his enemies, the saints; a man who mortifies his body; who suffers poverty as a Christian, or, as you would say, as a philosopher; who

* Cap. xvii.

never ceases celebrating the perfections of God; who never judges his neighbour; who always excuses him; who passes his life in charity and the service of others; who is insensible to the pleasures and delights of life; who, in fine, in spite of his misfortunes, is entirely submissive to the will of God! and you call that a diabolic mysticism *."

Fenelon was accused of aspiring at power in court, "par les lieux secrets d'un langage mystérieux." "That is the judgment of many persons," says D'Aguesseau, "which we must remit to the sovereign Searcher of hearts;" so that even the virtuous chancellor had been alienated from Fenelon by the imputation of his enemies. St. Augustin, after citing the words, "Muta efficiantur labia dolosa, quæ loquuntur adversus Justum iniquitatem in superbia et contemptu," adds, "the just is Christ, who coming in his great humility, appeared contemptible to the proud; and whosoever wishes to follow his footsteps, and to walk as He walked, will be despised in Christ, as a member of Christ. Muta efficiantur labia dolosa, quæ loquuntur adversus Justum iniquitatem in superbia et contemptu. When will these lips be mute? In this world never. Daily they will cry against humble Christians; daily they will vociferate; daily they will blaspheme †."

But now my vigour faints as florets by the frosty air of night bent down and closed; for those who play the part with history of Satan's advocates remind me, that even in the ages of faith it was not alone from the wicked and impious that goodly deeds and fair met ill-acceptance, but that holy persons suffered persecution from the just also, who, kneeling in the same choir with them, worshipped God. Their words, alas! are true, and may not be gainsayed. By good men also, as father Dosithée remarks, they were often exercised and contradicted, and that, by a wise dispensation of Omniscience, without there being sin and error on either side ‡. How affecting are the remonstrances of St. Columban, when he was exposed to trouble in Gaul from the singularity of his

* Lett. 967.

† In Ps. xxx.

‡ Vie de St. John de la Croix, liv. vii.

monastic rite. His reply to a council assembled against him was to this effect: "One thing I ask, as I am not the author of this diversity, but am a pilgrim travelling in these lands for Christ, the common Saviour, Lord, and God, I implore you, by our common Lord, who will judge the living and the dead, allow me, with your peace and charity, to dwell silently in these woods, and to live near the bones of seventeen of our brethren who are dead, as I have hitherto lived amongst you during these twelve years past *." St. Othmar, abbot of St. Gall, being accused falsely, as Walafrid Strabo declares, and condemned hastily, after many days of solitary confinement, was transferred to an island in the Rhine, called Stain, where he spent his days alone and in great devotion till his death: he was buried on the island, but, after ten years, the brethren brought back his body to the monastery.

St. Philbert, in the seventh century, having incurred the anger of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, by reproving him for his crimes, that minister gained over some ecclesiastics of the diocese of Rouen to calumniate the servant of God. St. Ouen, their bishop, was so imposed upon that he entered into their views. St. Philbert was even imprisoned until his innocence was recognised; but the holy abbot, thinking himself not safe in Neustria, retired to Poitiers.

St. Liudger, the apostle of Saxony, employing the revenues of his bishopric in charities, was accused to Charlemagne of neglecting to ornament his churches; but the emperor, who cited him before him, was so struck with his saintly replies, that he disgraced his accusers. Sad but necessary retrospects these, for without them we could not thoroughly understand the spirit of past ages, nor, while some divisions last, the mysteries of our own society.

To suffer from good men, like St. Wilfrid, in the eighth century, is itself a prodigy. St. Wilfrid never reviled his persecutors, never complained of those who, perhaps without consciousness of evil, stirred up whole kingdoms against him. His cause having been heard before Pope Agatho, who decided in his favour, when he presented the

* Bib. Patrum, iii. epist. 2.

pope's letter to Egfrid, the king declared that it was obtained by bribery, and committed Wilfrid to a dungeon, where he continued nine months. It was the remembrance of having taken part against him, that embittered the last hours of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, who sought and obtained forgiveness from him at his death. St. William, in the twelfth century, had some inveterate enemies, who had prepossessed Pope Eugene against him by the blackest calumnies. Notwithstanding the unspotted sanctity of his life, and his exalted rank in Church and state, he was assailed even by dignitaries in the Church, whose accusations were made to appear so credible, that a refusal to ratify his appointment to the see was peremptorily given. And how did the saint bear these insults, this unmerited disgrace, this loss of character?—in silence!

St. Conrad, named archbishop of Treves, in the year 1066, on account of his sanctity, by St. Annon, archbishop of Cologne, was opposed by the clergy and people of that city, on the ground of their not having been consulted. Hoping by his presence to win them over, he set out for his diocese; but Deodoric, count of Treves, lay in wait for him with some soldiers, by whom he was seized and decapitated.

St. Jane de Chantal while in Paris, and St. Theresa in various places, suffered many persecutions, even from persons of piety. St. John of God was accused by men who meant well, of receiving vagabonds and prostitutes into his hospital. His crime was receiving sinners. St. Peter Nolasquo had many contradictions to endure before he could realize his charitable project of founding the order of Mercy for the redemption of captives. Even good men did not appreciate his zeal.

Indeed, from earliest times, the most eminent servants of God were accustomed to be misrepresented or suspected by men who were not his enemies. "How many are there," says St. Augustin, explaining the Psalms from the pulpit, "who affirm that we are seeking honour, and praise, and temporal utility in the Church! How many affirm that I speak to you in order that you may admire and praise me, and that this is my object and intention when I speak! But how should they know what none of you can know? How should they know

what I myself scarcely know? for I do not judge myself; *qui enim dijudicat me Dominus est* *."

St. Gervin, abbot of St. Riquier, one of the most holy men of the eleventh century, gave offence by his mode of preaching and hearing confessions, insomuch that he was accused before the Pope St. Leo IX. of preaching without a mission; and he had to repair to Rome to refute these accusations, when the holy father gave him power to preach and to hear confessions wherever he might choose.

After St. Celestin V. had resigned the papal chair, and retired to his monastery at Morrone, persecutions awaited him, from men who only sought to provide against an enormous danger. The multitudes that flocked to him, and false rumours that his abdication was not voluntary, naturally excited fears that fatal consequences might result; and he was therefore kept in confinement under a guard of soldiers at Fumone, during ten months, until his death. It is said that his treatment even was most unworthy; but without complaining. "All I wished for in the world," said he, "was a cell, and that cell they have given me."

St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, in the seventh century, taught classical learning; and for these studies he was decried to the Pope, St. Gregory, as a man who substituted pagan fable for holy Scripture, and who with the same lips sang Christ and Jupiter. The holy Pope discerned the groundlessness of the accusation, and rendered him justice publicly.

St. Bernardine of Sienna was misrepresented to Pope Martin, and was, for a short time, even condemned to abstain from preaching. His style had been criticised, and offence had been taken at his having the sacred name painted to exhibit to the people. St. Philip Neri, too, being accused of ambition and hypocrisy, and of seeking popularity, was forbidden for a time, by the vicar of Rome, from hearing confessions and from preaching. St. John Francis Regis was so misrepresented, that even the bishop of Viviers, who had taken his part, proceeded to censure him and order his recall. At another time he had the grief to see some of his own

* In Ps. cxli.

order associated with those who decried him. Its holy founder also, St. Ignatius of Loyola, had been represented by some as a man attached to certain visionaries, who called themselves illuminated, and who had been condemned in Spain. He was even brought before the inquisition. At another time he was cited before the grand vicar of the bishop, as catechizing without a mission, and he was kept in prison during forty-two days. Afterwards, in Salamanca, being followed by a multitude who were charmed with his instructions, he was again suspected and imprisoned; but after twenty-two days his innocence was recognised. St. Francis of Borgia was similarly exposed to many mortifications, arising from persons who suspected either error in his books, or else his former friendship with men who were themselves falsely suspected of error.

"My lord of Cambrai is proud," writes a contemporary of Fenelon*, "his arrogance is increased†," "he believes no one but those who flatter him‡." "It is a ferocious beast that must be pursued for the honour of the episcopacy and of truth, till he be overpowered and rendered incapable of doing more mischief. The Church must be delivered from the greatest enemy that it has ever had§."

The duc de Beauvilliers was another sufferer at that time, in the same court, from men whom he would not rank with the corrupt. It was even suggested by some, that he had contracted opinions favourable to the new views of religion, though a bull of Pope Innocent XII. and a subsequent brief, as also a declaration of the general assembly of the French clergy, had severely condemned those who were accessory to spreading such charges, unless they could support them in a due canonical course by irrefragable proofs. Such are the instances that might be easily multiplied of persecutions for justice, through the instrumentality of persons unconscious of opposing it. In allusion to them, Albertus Magnus says, "That is a laudable patience which bears injuries patiently, not only from evil men, but also from those who seem to be good; not for evil deeds, but for benefits. Then the soul is the friend of God amongst daughters, as the lily amidst thorns: for the lily, when pierced

* Lett. de Bossuet, civ.

† Id. cxx.

‡ Id. cxvi.

§ Id.

by thorns, retains its whiteness, and only emits a stronger perfume than if it had not been pierced. So the soul, the spouse of God, if it be pierced by those who seem to be of the number of the sons of God, is not provoked to impatience, but endeavours diligently to preserve the purity of a good conscience, and the odour of a holy fame*." But it is time that we pass from an observation of the sufferings of particular members, in consequence of their personal justice, to survey the persecutions of the whole body of the Church collectively, on account of the inalienable privileges conferred upon it by its Divine Founder.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT is the Church? "The Church," say the guides of the middle ages, "is Christ himself, living externally, re-appearing always under a human form: the Church is, as it were, the permanent incarnation of the Son of God, since in holy Scripture the faithful are called the body of Jesus Christ. But, if the Church be the continual presence of the Saviour, it follows, that it must participate in his attributes: therefore it must suffer as He suffered†." For the Church was not an abstraction or a mere phantom. Books were not the Church, as they are said to be now by some; nor was any one who could write a book and screen his person by remaining unknown, the bishop or the archbishop. The Church had flesh and bones to suffer, like its Divine Founder in his sacred humanity; it had apostles, invested with authority, filling offices which involved them in a state of constant personal responsibility, by reason of which they could be bound, imprisoned, and put to death like those who first established it in the world: its persecutions would be, in many respects, a continuance of the passion.

Now we see ample preparation made to realize these anticipations; for there is another power existing, an-

* Albertus Magnus, *Paradisus Animæ*, c. iv. tom. xxi.

† Vide Möhler *symboliq.*

other society, another kingdom, between which and the Church war is inevitable, a war which can never end. "Every people," says St. Augustin, "delighted with a human kingdom, and rejecting the Lord from reigning over it, every such people is far from the saints, and prepared to persecute them. Think not this confined to the Jews alone. They are given as primitive examples, that in them may appear what all others should beware of. They rejected Christ; they chose Cæsar. And truly, Cæsar was a king; a man over human things: but there was another king for divine things. One king for temporal, another for eternal life. They did not sin because they said that Cæsar was their king, but because they were unwilling to have Christ for king. *Et modo multi Christum regem in cœlo sedentem et ubique regnantem habere nolunt, et ipsi sunt qui tribulant nos.* But we cannot be troubled, excepting by those who are far from the saints, far not in body but heart*."

Such was the voice of all Catholics in ages of faith. The intellectual, the chivalrous world of the middle ages recognised no other as the truth. "All," says John of Salisbury, "who seek to extend the kingdom of man, to the prejudice of the empire of Christ, are those who go forth with swords and staves to take Christ prisoner, that his name may be destroyed†."

The apostle calls the devil and his angels "the rulers of this world," because they rule over the lovers of this world. From these the Church has to expect constant opposition, a systematic and ingenious hostility, and perpetual hatred. As Albert the Great notes from the Psalmist's words, there is a threefold persecution against her; "by the mouth, implied in his expression, *fremuerunt*; by the heart, when he says, *meditati sunt*; and by deeds, *astiterunt reges*‡:" the Church then, as truly Israel, may say, "*Sæpe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea.*" From her cradle has she been persecuted. Here is then literally, what modern politicians so greatly deprecate, a state within a state, an empire in an empire, and subjects are divided. "*Amicus sæculi hujus constituitur inimicus Dei.*" "So it is," adds St. Anselm, "so it must be immutably, *Non sunt verba tantum audienda,*

* In Ps. lv.

† De nuge Curial. vi.

‡ Albert. Mag. in Ps. ii.

sed est res terrificæ metuenda *.” But the fact is manifest, and its authors seek no disguise. “Sometimes they rage openly by deeds, and,” as St. Augustin says, “the world beholds the impetus of the persecutors externally raging; at others they are restrained; there remains the malevolence of the thinkers. There is a distinction of times in the persecution of the Church. There was an attack on the Church when kings persecuted it. Then, when kings believed, peace was given to the Church, and it rose to the height of dignity even in this world. But there was not wanting the rage of persecutors; they turned their attacks to thoughts; in these thoughts, as in an abyss, is bound the devil; he rages and bursts not forth; for it is said of these times, *Peccator videbit, et irascetur* ;” and what will he do? Will he persecute? No, he cannot. What then? *Dentibus suis frendet et tabescet †.*” Nevertheless, these thoughts pass not unobserved and without effects. We shall soon witness them.

“In the mean while,” as St. Augustin says to the ministers and lovers of the earthly state, who would give it dominion over the city of God, “let them tremble, let them feel horror, all our rich brethren abounding in money, in gold and silver, in attendants and honours! Let them tremble, for it is said, *Domine, in civitate tua imaginem eorum ad nihilum rediges*; and do they not deserve to suffer this, that God in his city should reduce their image to nothing, since they in the earthly state reduced the image of God to nothing ‡?”

“Liberty, that is,” says Theology, speaking by the Beatrice of Dante, “the noble virtue, supreme of gifts, which God, creating, gave of his free bounty, sign most evident of goodness, and in his account most prized, the boon wherewith all intellectual creatures, and them sole, he hath endowed §,” “liberty, the end, as well as the immediate consequence of faith, liberty, for which we know how to die,” say the first Christians, “*libertas, pro qua mori novimus*||, is the inalienable privilege of the Catholic Church; but its defence has cost her dear; for, in that cause, many of her sons have shed their blood, and almost all have suffered.” “Nothing,” says a French historian, “can be more mystically high than the lan-

* Epist. viii.

† In Ps. lxi.

‡ In Ps. lxxii.

§ Par. v.

|| Tertull. ad Nat. i. 4.

guage of the Church in maintaining her freedom." He cites, as an instance, the bull of Pope Boniface VIII., addressed to Philippe-le-Bel: "In the sweetness of an ineffable love, the Church, united to Christ his spouse, has received from him the most ample gifts, and, above all, that of liberty. He has wished that the adorable spouse should reign as a mother over the faithful people. Who then will not dread to offend, to provoke her? Who will not feel that he offends the bridegroom in the spouse? Who will dare to touch the ecclesiastical liberty against his God and his Lord? Under what shield will he take shelter, to escape being reduced to dust by the stroke of the Puissant One, of the power from on high? O, my son, turn not away thy ears from the paternal voice."

When St. Gregory VII., St. Anselm, and St. Thomas came forward in opposition to temporal power, "in the days when the king of Babylon was confirmed against Jerusalem," as Peter of Blois describes the contest, it was in order that the Church, purchased and made free by the blood of Christ, might not become the slave of the state. What the Roman Pontiffs sought for the whole Church, the archbishops of Canterbury in different ages sought for that part of it which was in England. "This was no struggle," as Möhler says, "for mere external emancipation; it was a contest for what is most internal in man, freedom of thought *." Reader, history will be a sealed book to you, if you mistake consequences for causes, and do not consider events as part of the combat which the Church of God has to sustain against evil spirits and deluded men, who are often ignorant of the banner under which they serve.

"Behind the drama of history, therefore," as a learned French writer observes of the middle ages, "were doctrines which were its springs; behind, actions, ideas: for the logical genius of those ages reigned in hearts no less than in schools; and thought was mistress of the world. The Pontificate, in its struggle with the empire, had on its side, not alone truth, liberty, and justice; it rested also on the strict law, on the written law, on the positive constitution of Christian Europe, as the Mirror of Suabia, the authentic and legal collection of the Ger-

* Möhler's *Schriften und Aufsätze*, b. i. 3.

man common law or customs of the thirteenth century, and Magna Charta itself for England can attest; 'for, by the latter,' as Sir Thomas More, after his condemnation, told his base judges, 'it was declared that the English Church should be free, and have all its rights entire and its liberties untouched—*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura integra, et libertates suas illæsas.*'"

Before advancing further, therefore, we may be permitted to observe how little one can understand the persecutions of the Church for liberty without having studied not alone theology, but also the legal history of Europe, statute as well as canon law. A Cujas, a de Marca, a Cabassut, a Doujat, a Thomassin—such are the men who, along with the old judges of the land, can alone give us the key that will unlock the secrets of the political history of Christian ages, as long as the canon law, that is in fact the Gospel, had dictated or guided the civil institutes of all nations. To this preliminary remark we may add the observation of another foreign writer, who, after saying that these violent collisions between the two powers, when the church shed her blood, as in the time of the heathen or heretical emperors, rather than relinquish her right, are facts which cannot be studied without this acquirement, concludes with observing, that "the moderation and limits of the secular power are not yet so well assured that this teaching of the martyrs has become unnecessary; and that if our statesmen were to consult theologians, such as Lugo, on matters of high politics, they would discover far higher views to guide them in the government of nations, than can be derived from collecting all the modern opinions; and that they would find in treatises *De Justitia* and *De Fide*, as cases of conscience, what in acts of parliament in later times they will search for in vain. But what kings at present," he asks, "or what statesmen, have cases of conscience to resolve amidst their trials and dilemmas?"

During the first three centuries the Church had enjoyed under a Pagan government, amidst external oppression and bloody persecutions, the most perfect freedom and independence in its internal relations, in its doctrine and discipline. But it continued not so under the Christian emperors, who being accustomed in Pagan times to rule with despotic sway, sought to intrude into the province

of the Church *. At first they used their power with moderation, but in process of time they went beyond its limits, making their approbation a condition of election to sees, requiring taxes from the elected, making arbitrary depositions, and passing tyrannical sentences of exile. Of this persecution we have a memorable instance in the fifth age. Theodosius the younger, at the instigation of the eunuch Chrysaphius, having required a present from Flavian a priest, on his being elected to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, which the holy man refused to offer, replying that the revenues of the church were the property of the poor, a resolution was formed to oppose him, which was executed in the false council styled the *Latrocinale*, when he was deposed by violence, from which, when he appealed to Rome, his enemies fell upon him and so wounded him that he died within a few days at Epipus, the place of his exile.

After the fall of the Roman empire the same spirit continued to break out at intervals. Each heresy, and even the lingering opposition of Paganism, worked in concert against the ecclesiastical liberty. Huneric, the Vandal king who conducted the Arian persecution in the sixth century in Africa, sent an order to St. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, never to preach to the people or admit any Vandals into his church; and on the bishop refusing, many suffered death for entering them. Four hundred and sixty-four bishops were sent into banishment, and innumerable Catholics tortured and put to death. In the north, the Pagans, even after conversion, were slow to admit a visible power greater than their own. The barbarous sovereigns were at all times prone to aspire at dominion over the Church; and confessors consequently soon appeared. In England, Mellitus, the first bishop of London, in the seventh century, for performing his spiritual duty as a pontiff, was obliged by king Eadbald to fly to Gaul. Justus, the bishop of Rochester, was obliged to accompany him; and Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, was only prevented from following them by a miraculous vision. Charlemagne exerted indeed an immense influence in ecclesiastical matters; but it was the natural influence of wisdom and justice, not a violent encroachment. With respect to his

* Döllinger, *Hist. of the Church*, ii. 5. Dr. Cox, tr.

power in elections, there is an anecdote related by an ancient writer, which will beguile the tediousness of our present path. "Charlemagne was at Aix, when he heard of the death of Ricolph, archbishop of Cologne. After a few days he set off to that city. On his way thither he desired to hear mass as usual in the place where he had passed the night; and at the offertory he gave the little golden hunting-horn which he wore round his neck. After mass the priest Hildebold returned the horn to the emperor, whom he did not know, saying, 'Take back the gold: it is not the custom here to make us such presents.' The emperor answered, 'Keep it; for such is my will.' The priest again replied, 'My lord, I see you are a hunter; my diarium and breviary are not well bound; I pray you, therefore, send me the skin of the first stag you kill in your hunting, and keep your gold.' The emperor smiled, and departed. On arriving at Cologne he found that the suffrages were divided. 'I will give you a bishop,' said the emperor, and then sent an express back to the woods to Hildebold, who was elected and consecrated. He governed the see with the greatest praise, and consecrated Lewis, son of Charlemagne, king of the Romans *."

We may observe here that the liberty of elections in France was not formally abolished until the famous concordat of Francis I. The successive stages of the persecutions, sustained in defence of the liberty of the Church, may be noted down briefly. The Church was persecuted then by the emperor Henry IV. in 1056, and by Henry V. his successor. Her next persecutors were Frederic Barbarossa, and his son Frederic II., who succeeded in 1213. Who could describe the sufferings of the holy Popes Paschal, Gelasius, Innocent III., and Innocent IV.? The persecution was steadily carried on by Henry VII., who succeeded in 1308, and by the emperor Lewis, whom Benedict XII. excommunicated, and against whom Clement VI. had to contend. It was pursued by Philippe-le-Bel, and by his legists, who continued it until the persecution by the new Pagan scholars broke out, amidst which Constantinople fell. All this long contest between the holy see and the temporal governments was to defend incontrovertible rights; involving, some the vital inter-

* *Annales Novesienses*, p. 535. ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* t. iv.

ests of religion, others the welfare of society in general ; and all of which the common law of the whole of Christendom had established *. In the sixteenth century the empire was emboldened at the spectacle of heresies rising against the Church. In consequence it required that the Pope should be only a bishop with territorial possessions ; that he should be the vassal of the civil power ; that he should obey the emperor, and yield him up the spiritual sovereignty. Its very language was full of passion, insult, and defiance : then, amidst the Protestant persecutions, the original contest was pursued at least theoretically even by Louis XIV. and the new monarchical system of the Gallican divines ; then by the emperor Joseph II. and his school of unfortunate adherents ; then by the men of blood, who succeeded ; then by Napoleon, and finally to the present day by the constitutional governments, which have made new all things over which they had any power, excepting follies and injustice.

Such were the most prominent figures in the conduct of this warfare ; but there were other chiefs, though seen in less bold relief. The pride of man is not quicker to take umbrage than swift in comprehending, with a sort of instinct, the measures which seem to favour its ill-understood interests. Those sovereigns, who were not from the first personally engaged in this levy of bucklers against the holy see, felt no less on which side of the scales they should throw the weight of their sword. The holy martyr of Canterbury made this remark, writing to the college of cardinals : " Beware," he said, " lest all the kings of the earth be infected with this disease ; for sweet to every tyrant is the bitter servitude of the Church, *Dulcis est omni tyranno amara servitus Ecclesiæ* †."—Monarchal absolutism, attempted by the Hohenstauffens and by Philippe-le-Bel, was only defeated by the ceaseless labours of the holy see ; until in the sixteenth century it was able in some countries at last to realize its insane and impious views, and compel men to swear to its supremacy. But all throughout, this was the secret aim. Hence the contests in England between her kings during so many reigns and the ecclesiastical power. Nor was

* *Pouvoir du Pape sur les Souverains au Moyen Age*, par le Directeur du Sém. de S. Sulpice.

† *Epist. cxlv.*

the combat only on this portentous scale between thrones and the pontificate. It was carried on the while in many dioceses between the bishop and the chieftain of the province ; in many parishes between the priest and the seignior. As is related of the first persecutions, each edict against the Church seemed to be a signal for others, as if the impious in all parts of the world felt at the same moment a new impulse, directing them to evil, and giving birth to projects of oppression. What persecutions, what sufferings for justice, might here be traced if the deeds of old could pass before the mind by night ! when bards are removed to their place, when harps are hung in halls, if we could hear the voice of years that are gone, if they could roll before us with all their tears !

In all observations of this ancient and never-ending struggle between the Church and the wills opposed to her, the first thing to remark is the particular justice of the cause in each instance for which her defenders suffered ; for though I would not confound the somewhat over-cautious expression of a learned and illustrious historian, addressed perhaps in a deep ironical sense to the adversaries of her martyr, with the coarse and deliberate depreciation of his cause by those who thought to win the praise of sagacity by congeniality of sentiments with them, or by concessions to their error, we must learn to estimate the value in general of the objections of her professed enemies, and the solidity of the doubts of others, who profess to defend her while suggesting that her champions have been martyrs only to a mistaken sense of duty, and to an opinion of which time may have disproved the truth. Now the question at issue throughout the ages of faith, from the conversion of the empire to their close, was the liberty of the Church, which, as we before observed, was, humanly speaking, that of her existence.

Let it not irk thee, reader, here to pause awhile, and with me parley : for at this theme I burn. That any question of a nature purely spiritual, that the voice of the body of Christ should create a sensation in the world sufficient to assume a political importance, seems inconceivable to the guides of public opinion in countries where "all godhead has vanished out of men's conception of this universe ;" and where the only dangers deprecated are those that would, directly or indirectly, involve

the loss of money, or of what is blindly thought by nations, glory. Even men of the learned class themselves, through an unaccountable want of consideration, seem there instinctively opposed to those who suffer persecution for endeavouring to rescue mind from subjection to the state, and ready to cheer on the civil power to whatever lengths it may push its pretensions; as if, to use the words of a great living writer, "their thoughts were for ever regulated by a moral law of gravitation, which, like the physical one, held them down to earth." But in ages of faith any attempt of this nature would give a certain voice to the voiceless; with such horror was it contemplated by all men who, being within the body of Christ, regarded its voice as their own. The layman, as well as the priest, would say with the son-in-law of Sir Thomas More, that it was "setting aside by human law the commission given by our Saviour to his apostles and their successors, and transferring their authority to the state; it was causing the care of souls to devolve upon the civil power, and the being of Christianity to depend upon the will of the magistrate."

A French writer has remarked, that "the institution of the third orders by St. Dominic and St. Francis, for persons in the world, was expressly provided to extend the influence of this conviction, and so defend the Church from the usurpations of the temporal power*." That this object was in view appears clearly from the first words of the bull of Gregory IX. in 1227, approving of it: "The perfidious heretics," says the pontiff, "similar to the children of Ismaël, have united with the Gentiles; and abusing the power of a proud king, who favours their criminal enterprises, make their glory consist in despising the holy place, and in endeavouring to spoil the Church of Christ of its most precious ornaments; but you, whom the Lord has inspired with a generous resolution to expose yourselves to the efforts of its enemies, and to defend the liberty of the Church, are worthy of receiving proofs of our benevolence." Peter de Vineis, the chancellor of Frederic II., discerning the consequences, wrote accordingly to his master, saying, "The friar preachers and the minors are risen against us; they publicly reprove our life and conversation; they infringe

* Chavin de Malan, Hist. de S. Franc. 163.

our rights, and reduce us to nothing; and lo, now, to weaken our power still more, and estrange the people from us, they have created two new confraternities, which embrace universally men and women. All run to them, and there is scarcely any one to be found whose name is not inscribed."

Of the great contest between the Church and the empire after its conversion, the source was the abuse arising out of the influence of the feudal system on the clergy. The more ancient of the Carlovingian kings appear not to have required the feudal oath; but the bishops, assembled at Quiercy in 858, refused to subject themselves as vassals by taking it. The military conscription which oppressed the Church in her possessions was another grievance consequent on the same system; but the root of all ecclesiastical evils was investiture; for, until it was removed, the holy see found it would be impossible to extirpate simony or restore canonical elections. St. Gregory VII., in seeking to free the Church from the feudal chains, declared that he desired nothing new, but only to restore the primitive constitutions of the Church. He imposed nothing but what only expressed the ancient submission to the ecclesiastical authority of the holy see. As the abbot Godfrey of Vendôme declared, the custom of investiture was simoniacal and heretical, because it implied the sale of benefices and the assumption by laymen of spiritual power. "Every where," says St. Gregory VII., "it is permitted to the poorest woman to unite herself according to the laws with a husband; but to the Church alone, our mother, it is forbidden to remain united with her bridegroom upon earth. Could we permit that heretics, adulterers, and intruders, should subject to themselves the sons of the Church, and cast upon her the scandals of their own conduct*." But let us confine our observation to the contests in England between Henry II. and the Church's great deliverer. "Let us examine what is your cause," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas of Canterbury; "the justice of your cause then," he adds, "is manifest, since you contend for the liberty of the Church of God, which our Saviour once conquered for us on the cross, and redeemed with an inestimable price, and made uniform

* Döllinger, *Hist. of Church*. Dr. Cox's transl. iii.

for all who are called by his name. For as there is one faith, so is there one liberty, which the identity of the sacraments and the simplicity of the Spirit, which worketh all things, consecrate and confirm. For in this consists the wonderful sacrament of the ecclesiastical unity, that as there is one faith, one spirit, and one baptism, so is there also one testament of perpetual enfranchisement, by which the adoption of the divine goodness renders us not only free but also co-heirs; in which, as often as liberty is impaired, it is certain that there is an act derogatory to faith, since being connected together by a mutual relation, each feels necessarily whatever loss or advantage may accrue to the other*." So the holy archbishop, writing to Stephen, chancellor of the king of Sicily, says, "*Crimen nostrum est assertio ecclesiasticæ libertatis*; for to profess that, is to be guilty of high treason under our persecutor; for he alone is deemed faithful who takes pleasure in the contempt of religion, who opposes the divine law, who delights in the ridicule of priests, who venerates the gibbets of ancient tyrants as the temple of justice†." John of Salisbury, writing to Petrus Cellensis, gives the same testimony as to the cause of his own exile. "The indignation of our most serene lord, the king of the English, is excited against me for the last year. If you ask the cause, the profession of liberty and the defence of truth are my crimes. The Searcher of hearts, whom my whole useless and pernicious life has always and too grievously offended, can bear witness that against the king my conscience is ignorant of any other offence‡." He gives the same evidence respecting the adherents of St. Thomas, so cruelly exiled. "The wretched faithful of Canterbury," he says, "are banished and proscribed for this cause alone, for daring to mutter a word respecting the liberty of the Church; for protesting in favour of the privilege of the apostolic see; for preaching that the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers are to be preferred to the traditions of the impious§." "The great object of these men," as Ger-vaise says of Pope Innocent III., was, "that the Church of God might always receive increase of virtue, both in

* Epist. S. Thom. xxi. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi.

† Id. Epist. cxxiii.

‡ Epist. Joan. Saresb. xii. ap. id. xvi.

§ Id. xlvi.

manners and in persons*.” The sum of their offence consisted in wishing that kings and ministers, and all kind of persons in public or private, should walk according to the Gospel of Christ; understanding that this was their law, supreme over all laws, and that whatever was in the Church’s keeping should pertain, as Dante says, “to such as sue for heaven’s sweet sake; and not to those who in respect of kindred claim, or on more vile allowance †.” This was the work that from these limits freed St. Thomas. He died for endeavouring to maintain the kingdom of God on earth. This was his unforgiveable offence, styled setting up priests over the head of kings.

“We suffer,” says John of Salisbury, again writing to Gaufrid of St. Eadmund, “by the grace of God, not as adulterers or murderers, not as incendiaries or sacrilegious men, but as Christians, propter justitiam ‡.” He repeats this in another letter to Walter de Insula: “We do not suffer as criminals, as is publicly known, excepting to those who labour that they may not understand the things of God; but we are afflicted as Christians, bearing with equanimity the dispensation of the Lord §.”

These confessors and martyrs proceed to show that the liberty for which the Church contends can never be injurious to any king or to any state. “I am blamed as if I committed injuries against our lord the king,” says St. Thomas to the unworthy Gilbert, bishop of London; “but since you specify nothing, I know not for what I ought to answer. As I am accused therefore vaguely, I excuse myself on this head vaguely; yet in the meanwhile take this answer, that I am conscious of nothing to myself, though I am not therefore justified. You need not have laboured much to remind me of the benefits which the king bestowed on me: for I call God to witness that I prefer nothing under the sun to his grace, and to his safety; only, *salva sint quæ Dei sunt et sanctæ Ecclesiæ*; for not otherwise could he reign happily or securely ||.” All his great contemporaries were impressed with the same conviction. “We are the more grieved at these events,” says Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, writing to the Pope Alexander, “because nothing can be more

* Gerv. Præmonstr. ab Ep. iii.

† Par. xxii.

‡ Id. xxvii.

§ Id. xxxix.

|| Epist. S. Thom. lxx.

certain than that the ecclesiastical liberty or dignity conduces to the royal dignity, rather than takes aught from it, and that the royal dignity tends to preserve rather than to take away the ecclesiastical liberty: for, as if with a close embrace, the ecclesiastical and regal dignity conjoin; since neither can kings have safety without the Church, nor the Church peace without the royal protection *." So Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Henry, king of England, concludes with these words: "The children of this world suggest to you that you should diminish the authority of the Church, in order that you may augment the royal dignity. But certainly in this, whoever they may be, they impugn your majesty, and procure the indignation of God; for it is He who can extend your dominion and advance your glory." All this had been shown by St. Augustin; for, after citing the words of the Psalm, "*Et content in viis Domini, quoniam magna est gloria Domini*," he adds, "Let the kings of the earth sing this; let the kings of the earth be humble, not proud. Let them sing, walking in the ways of the Lord. What shall they sing? that the glory of kings is great! Nay; but *quoniam magna est gloria Domini* †."

Again, let the observation be repeated, that in all these contests the holy men, whose persecutions we commemorate, suffered for supporting even the laws of the political order. All these privileges enjoyed by the Church in the middle ages were guaranteed by the laws both human and divine. The common law of Germany, as may be witnessed in the Mirror of Suabia, already cited as containing it, recognised expressly the occasions when the legal consequences of excommunication would be incurred by the emperor. "The Pope alone," says this text, "can excommunicate the emperor, which he can do for these three causes; if he doubts of the faith, if he forsakes his wife, and if he destroys the churches: for thus the great as well as the poor must be judged †."

"This pretension," says the organ of the French ministry in the present year, alluding to the demand of the episcopacy for liberty of education, "tends to nothing

* Id. Epist. ccviii.

† In Ps. cxxxvii.

‡ Cours de Lit. Germ. au Moyen Age, par Ozanam, and the work of the Abbé Gosselin.

less than to the overthrow of all civil society. We admit of intermediate, but not of independent bodies. In a state every thing is subject to the state ; dans un état, tout est soumis à l'état. To grant independence to the clergy is to tear and destroy the state *."

Such views in ages of faith would have entitled him who expressed them to a reproof like that bestowed on Antony by Cicero : " Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciæ (cupit enim se audacem dici) sed, quod minime vult, stultitiæ, qua vincit omnes †." He would have been told, in the words of St. Augustin, commenting on the verse of the Psalm, " Dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem," that he was for inverting the order not alone of grace but of nature ; " wickedly, inordinately, and perversely you wish to put water above oil ; the water sinks, the oil will float : you wish to put light beneath darkness ; the darkness will fly, the light will remain : you wish to put earth above heaven ; the earth by its own weight will fall to its place ; as you will sink and be overwhelmed, loving malice above benignity ; and therefore it is added in the Psalm, Dilexisti omnia verba submersionis ‡." You will draw upon yourself shame and ruin ; and in the consequences of your own principles, as in a deluge of the fire of the wrath of God, you will yourself vanish. All Christian states had accepted the truth of the Christian religion as a fact, and by express and positive enactments had invested the practical consequences with all the might and authority of the law. Now, as Pope Innocent III. observes, " As those things which have been reasonably ordained by Catholic and devout princes ought to be maintained firmly and unalterably, so such as are enacted wickedly by perfidious tyrants, especially while under the bond of excommunication, ought to be without force §."

In effect, we find that the martyrs and confessors were mindful of the legality of their proceedings. " If any one be a defender of the law," says St. Thomas, " he is considered the king's enemy ; we are dispersed : we are proscribed ||." In regard to his cause, both human and divine laws concurred. " Examine if you will," says

* April 2, 1841. Journal des Débats.

† Orator.

‡ S. Aug. in Ps. li.

§ Epist. Inn. lib. xv. 31.

|| St. Thom. Ep. cxxiii.

John of Salisbury, "that book of detestable abominations," (which contains the customs advocated by the king,) "and you will plainly see that our adversaries, yea rather those of the whole Church of God, turn their backs on the sanctuary of the Lord, and not only profane but endeavour to overthrow the law *."

And indeed how could he entertain a different opinion? for, as the same John says elsewhere to cardinal Albert, "If the pastoral office can be exercised only at the nod of the prince, without doubt, neither will crimes be punished, nor the ferocity of tyrants reprov'd, nor will the Church itself be able in reality to stand long. As for me," he adds, "whoever he may be who advises priests to be silent, and to dissemble, during the usurpation of such depravities, I doubt not that he is a heretic, and a forerunner of Antichrist, if he be not personally Antichrist †." And here assuredly it will not be a departure from the object of this general outline, if we dwell for a few moments upon the particular cause for which St. Thomas suffered.

Now the first ground of offence was his resigning the chancellorship, in which he only exercised a general right of all men. The second was his opposing the king in his unjust usurpation of vacant sees and benefices, and deferring to fill them, in violation of the canons, in order to appropriate the revenues to his own use; the third, that he would not suffer lay-judges, contrary to the law of Christendom, to summon clerical persons before their tribunals, subjecting them to the duel and the ordeal; and lastly, his refusal to take an oath to observe certain customs, in which he knew that several notorious abuses and injustices were included.

To insist on a bishop binding himself to the secular prince, to observe more than was involved in the form of fidelity, was a thing unprecedented in England, which of itself, he said, ought to be rejected †: but the case was far worse than a question of formality; for these were the propositions he refused to sanction,—that there could be no appeal to the apostolic see for any cause, unless with licence from the king; that no archbishop or bishop could leave the kingdom to obey the summons

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xlviii.

† Id. Epist. xlix.

‡ Ep. clxv.

of the Pope, without licence from our lord the king; that no bishop should excommunicate any one who held of the king, in capite, without licence of the king, or place his land, or that of his officers, under an interdict; that no bishop should coerce any one, *de perjurio vel fide læsa*; that clerks should be tried by the secular courts, which was to deliver over to the rigour and corruption of the secular tribunals a multitude of the people who had previously found an asylum from oppression and barbarism in the ecclesiastical courts, where alone learning, justice, and charity presided *. The immemorial offices of the episcopacy also were to be renounced, as appears from the letter of John, bishop of Poitiers, written to St. Thomas, relating how he has been forbidden by the king expressly, not to presume to usurp any thing belonging to the royal dignity, such as attending to the complaints of widows or orphans, or any of the faithful, until the king's officers, or the lord of the feud's officers, failed to administer justice †. In fine, it was to be enacted that laics, whether the king or others, should treat causes of the Church,—a power which all preceding ages had denied them ‡.

Moreover, the king required from the Pope, as he himself declares in his royal letter to Reginald of Cologne, "that whatever St. Thomas did, should be declared null, yet that the archbishop should swear before the Pope, that he and his successors would observe inviolably for ever his royal customs; and the king declared that if he or they should ever contradict his petitions, neither he, nor his barons, nor his clergy, should obey; but, on the contrary, that all would resist him, and that whoever adhered to him should be banished §."

I cannot trace even a sketch of the archbishop's noble defence of justice, but we may cite some prominent passages from his epistles, illustrative of its solidity. Thus he writes, in a letter to pope Alexander: "We answer that none of our predecessors were ever obliged, by any king, to make such a profession as is now required from us, respecting customs which destroy the liberty of the

* Ozanam, *Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre*, 117.

† *Epist. St. Thom. ix.*

‡ *St. Thom. Epist. lv.*

§ *Epist. do. lxxv.*

Church, and the privileges of the apostolic see, and manifestly oppose the law of God. Rather than consent to them, and through love of life forsake our pastoral care, we ought to submit our necks to the executioner. These reprobate customs which we have condemned, have been condemned before in many councils by the Catholic Church, with an anathema against their observers. Were we to connive at them, the example would be pernicious, and would lead to the ruin of ecclesiastical liberty, and perhaps to the loss of the Christian faith. For who would dare to drop a word about the rest? Who would oppose himself as a wall for the house of Israel? We may add, that such an example has not been left us by apostolic men. Look around and see how the Church is treated in the west. The lord Otho can inform you, who is actuated, we believe, by the Spirit of God, and who has seen and known what takes place in the dioceses of Tours and of Rouen, as well as in our own, in which are seven sees vacant, to which the king will not suffer pastors to be named. The clergy are given over as a prey to his satellites. If we dissemble these things, holy father, what shall we answer to Christ in the day of judgment? Who will resist Antichrist coming, if we evince to his fore-runner such patience and toleration of crime? By such silence, powers grow hardened, kings pass into tyrants, and no right is left to the Church, but what they choose to allow. In vain are proposed to us the examples of the Sicilians or Hungarians, which will not excuse us in the day of judgment, if we prefer the barbarism of tyrants to the apostolic institutions, and regard the insolence of seculars, as the form of living, rather than the eternal testament, confirmed by the blood and death of the Son of God *."

When an accommodation was proposed, the archbishop declared that he was prepared to do what the king desired, and to observe all that had ever been observed, "*salvo ordine suo*," but that he could not incur new obligations which had never been imposed on them, without adding, "*salvo honore Dei et ordine suo* †." To this the king would not consent. "But," replies the archbishop, "if such an oath unqualified had been taken by

* Epist. cxiv.

† Epist. clix.

me, not only the bishops, but all the clergy, would have been required to take it; a burden which is not imposed either on soldiers or on the rustics. Other princes would soon follow the example *; and how could a bishop discharge the pastoral office, after having so bound himself? as the archbishop of Sens demands in his letter to pope Alexander †." "Never within the memory of man, had any bishop in England been required to take any other but the canonical oaths ‡, and never, with God's help," says St. Thomas, "shall I be induced by any necessity, to introduce a new form of oath into the Church of God, which would then indubitably be imposed on other bishops §."

"If the king of England," says John of Salisbury, writing to Pope Alexander, "should obtain the sanction or dissimulation of these customs, what will any prince hesitate to demand next? One thing I know," he adds, "that not only not a bishop, but that no Christian can observe them: Heaven forbid that such an abuse should descend to other ages, beginning from your pontificate ||!"

With respect to the royal requisition which prohibited obedience to the archbishop, "how shall faith be preserved," asks John of Salisbury, "if it be not lawful for subjects to obey their prelates and pastors, in the things which are of God? Now no one can retain the king's favour, who continues to obey the archbishop ¶."

With respect to the clerical immunities, the Pope in his letter to the king reminded him that such was the established order of things, founded on the difference between the lives of ecclesiastics and seculars; that to disturb it would be to confound the kingdom and the priesthood, and that if he were to give to the poor all the fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, it would not be an act more grateful to God, than if he were to strip one altar to enrich another, or to crucify Peter in order to deliver Paul **.

In a word, as John of Salisbury says, writing to the bishop of Poitiers, "in enumerating all the circum-

* Epist. clx.

† Epist. clxv.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. lviii.

** Epist. St. Thom. xl.

† Epist. clxi.

§ Epist. cccxiii.

¶ Do. Epist. lxxvi.

stances which concur to the glory of this martyr, we must commence with the justice of his cause. If," he says, "it be the cause which makes the martyr, which no one doubts, what can be more just and more holy than his cause, who, despising all the glory of the world, and the affection of his friends and relations for the love of Christ, underwent exile with them, and poverty, for seven years, and finally death, rather than sanction abuses of ancient tyrants which made void the law of God; thus following the royal road, and the footsteps of Christ, and of apostolic men *?" He suffered too, not for a mere hopeless speculation; for, as the issue proved, his glorious struggle was not in vain.

Henry III. formally abrogated the iniquitous customs and laws of his father affecting the ecclesiastical liberty, expressly declaring that he did so for the honour of God, and of our holy mother the Church, and to amplify the glory of the martyr St. Thomas, who contended against them unto death. The visible consequences in respect to the freedom of the Church are therefore ascribed by Richard, elected to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, to the intercession of the new martyr, and ranked amongst the miracles with which God is pleased to signify his compassion for the English Church †.

But extending now our observations to other instances of collision, we should remark that the justice of the cause for which ecclesiastics suffered was often self-evident, and a consequence, not so much of law, as of natural right, or else of the essential difference which exists between spiritual and material things, which no change of times, or circumstances, or legislation, can ever alter. Thus ecclesiastics suffered for refusing to sanction the plunder of the property entrusted to their care.

"As for these three possessions," writes St. Thomas, "which have been taken from the Church contrary to God and to all equity, we expressly require restitution, preferring perpetual banishment, to making a peace injurious to the Church ‡".

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xciv.

† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi. 674.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. cxi.

"We fly to our lord the king," writes Armanus, abbot of Manlieu, to Louis VII., "for we are troubled on all sides by men who fear neither God nor men, and exercise tyranny over us, to whom, when we offer justice, they as enemies of justice repute it nothing. At this present moment, Chatard de Boscot, a robber and violater of the highway, has seized our men carrying their wares on the public road. We find no one to oppose a shield for the house of Israel. We are destitute of all ecclesiastical and secular defence. We therefore beseech your majesty to obtain justice for us *."

The extent of the persecution inflicted on the faithful in general, by men of this character, is indicated even by many of the curious conditions of tenure or redevances which were so common in the middle ages; as that by which John Auvré, on account of his fief of Coudroy, belonging to the lady Guilberd des Loges, and to Raoul, her husband, was bound to attend the said couple as a guard every year on the vigil of Christmas, and on the three evenings of Tenebræ in holy week, on their way to and from the church for the office †.

In England, the scheme of plundering the ecclesiastical property, by men of a certain class, had never been wholly abandoned. In Henry IVth's time there was "the laymen's parliament, of those who countenanced Wickliffe, and loved the lands far better than they did the religion of the Church: but their designs at that time were defeated by the stout and religious opposition of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates." Against these evils the ancient canons of the Church in Germany provided, by prohibiting the faithful from holding any communication with men who disturb priests and the state of the Church ‡.

Now if St. Thomas and the clergy of the middle ages are to be condemned for resisting such injustice by prayers, and law, and canonical censures, what will be thought of St. Ambrose and other pastors of the early Church, who, by still more uncompromising firmness, believed that they were imitating the apostles?

* Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 19.

† Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normand. 1.

‡ Ap. Goldast. Aleman. Rer. Script. tom. xi. p. 11.

St. Ambrose declares that he will never relinquish the churches to the Arians, as the emperor Valentinian commands, unless by force. "If any force should remove me from the Church, my flesh," he says, "may be disturbed, but not my mind; for I am prepared to suffer whatever a priest may suffer, if the emperor should exert his regal power. I will never abandon the Church voluntarily, but I cannot oppose force; I can grieve, I can weep, I can groan; against arms, soldiers, and Goths, tears are my arms, for these are the weapons of a priest. Otherwise I neither ought nor can resist. When it was proposed to me to deliver up the vessels of the Church, I sent answer that I would willingly give up what was mine own, whether lands or houses, gold or silver; but that I could take nothing from the temple of God, nor deliver up what I had received to guard, not to deliver up. Fear not therefore for me, dearly beloved, since I know that whatever I am about to suffer, I shall suffer for Christ; and the will of Christ must be fulfilled, and that will be for the best. Let them decree the penalty of death: I fear it not; nor will I on that account desert the martyrs; for whither could I go, where all things would not be full of groans and tears, when Catholic priests are ordered to be driven from the churches, or to be struck by the sword if they resisted, and this decree to be written by a bishop who should quote ancient examples to prove himself most learned? Auxentius, with a mouth thirsting blood, demands my Church: but I say with the prophet, '*Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hæreditatem.*' Naboth was prepared to defend his vineyard at the expense of his blood. If he would not give up his vineyard, neither will we give up the Church of Christ. Do I then return a contumacious answer? I have answered as a priest, let the emperor act as an emperor. Last year, when I was invited to the palace, and introduced before the council, when the emperor wished to take from us the Church, I should have been subdued by the contemplation of the royal hall, and I should not have kept the constancy of a priest, or should have departed with loss of right. Do they not remember then, how the people rushed to the palace, and overwhelmed every force, declaring that they would die for the faith of Christ? Then I was desired to appease the people, which I did by engaging that the Church should not be

given up: but now the Arians wish to give law to the Church, and accuse us of sedition in resisting the emperor. Let him take our tribute, or our lands, if they ask treasure; our treasure is the poor of Christ, our defence is in the prayers of the poor. These blind, and lame, and weak, and old persons, are stronger than robust warriors. I am to give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God. The tribute is Cæsar's, but the Church is God's. As for the fire, or sword, or banishment, which are threatened, we fear them not*."

Again, writing to his sister Marcella, he says: "Not only the basilica without the walls is now demanded, but also the new and greater one within the city. When the princes summoned me to resign them, I replied, what was of course, 'that the temple of God could not be given up by a priest.' The emperor cannot invade the house of a private man, and he will dare to take possession of the house of God! The palace belongs to the emperor, the Church to the priest. If he be a tyrant, I desire to know it, that I may know how to prepare against him, for I have the power to offer my hody. If he thinks himself a tyrant, why does he delay to strike? By ancient laws, empires were given by priests, not taken from them; and it is a common saying, that emperors have rather desired priesthood, than priests empire. The tyranny of a priest is his infirmity, 'for when I am weak, then am I strong†.'"

Memorable is his description then of the joy of the faithful people, when the danger was for a time removed, and the soldiers were ordered to leave the church by the emperor. "How great was then the joy of all the people! How great their acclamations! How great their gratitude!" It was the same when Sir Thomas triumphed.

The refusal to contradict the canons, or obey the secular power in matters wholly spiritual, had been another source of persecution from the earliest time. St. Columban's crime, for which he suffered banishment, was his declining to give his benediction to a queen's illegitimate children. What can be more just than the cause of churchmen on occasions like these, when they are accused of pride and intolerance?

* St. Ambros. Orat. lib. v.

† Id. Epist. xxxiii.

As St. Ambrose replied to those who charged him with acting like a tyrant towards Valentinian, "Bishops do not act as tyrants, but they have often suffered from tyrants." "What! do you dare to despise Valentinian, while I am alive?" said the eunuch Calligone to St. Ambrose; "I will have you beheaded." "I pray God for the grace to suffer," replied the bishop; "I shall suffer as a bishop, but you will act as becomes your character." "All your subjects," said St. Ambrose to the emperor, "are bound to submit to your authority; but you are bound to obey God, and to defend the religion of Jesus Christ." "Who knows not," he says elsewhere, "that in matters of faith, bishops are the judges of Christian emperors? How then can emperors judge bishops? The person of Ambrose is not so important that the priesthood should be dishonoured for his sake. The life of one man ought not to enter into comparison with the dignity of all the bishops. Do you think," he says to the people, "that I will abandon you to save my life? You ought to have known that I fear the Lord of the universe more than the emperor. If the emperor acts the prince towards me, I will act the bishop. Let no one say that I am wanting in respect to the emperor. How can one honour him more than by calling him a son of the Church? The emperor is in the Church, not above the Church." Did Sir Thomas say more than this?

The cause of the clergy again was strictly just, when they suffered for endeavouring to prevent the interference of the secular power in ecclesiastical elections. "Who," asks John of Salisbury, "has constituted the Germans judges of nations, to subject the universal to a particular church? Who has given authority to brutal and impetuous men, to place a prince at their pleasure over the heads of the people? This they have often sought, but in vain. I know their intentions, for I was at Rome in the time of their insolent embassy under blessed Eugene. Perchance," he adds, "the fury of the Teutonic race is left for the purgation and proving of the Roman Church for ever, as another Canaan, that it may always teach it erudition, by disquieting it; that it may be restored to the embraces of the Bridegroom, more gracious and more glorious after its triumph. Laics may read in pictures in the Lateran palace, to the glory of our fathers, how the schismatics, whom the secular power

intruded, were given as a footstool to the true pontiffs. Judgments ought to be free, and whoever tries to disturb them by force, deserves capital punishment by the ancient constitutions. Moreover, ecclesiastical judgments, above all, ought to be most free, and according to the sacred canons; as the election of a pastor in the Church ought to be conducted without any previous nomination by the secular powers, so it is to be made in the Church itself, by ecclesiastical judges, all secular and formidable persons being removed; and whatever is effected otherwise, is to be considered null *."

During the persecutions of St. Thomas, what became of this freedom in England? Henry III., in restoring it, cites an instance to show that it had perished under an empty form; for his father wrote as follows to the monks of a certain monastery: "*Mando vobis ut liberam electionem habeatis, et tamen nolo ut aliquem accipiatis nisi Richardum clericum meum †.*"

On these occasions, the clergy suffered with a clear conscience, *propter justitiam*. "Day after day," says St. Thomas, "malice gains ground, and wrongs are multiplied, not ours but Christ's, yea, because they are Christ's, still more ours ‡." "Therefore in such a whirlwind of things, there is nothing better than to fly to the clemency of Christ, who, although again crucified, is not again slain §."

"My counsel and earnest prayer to you," says John of Salisbury, writing to him, "is that you commit yourself wholly to the Lord; for his name is a strong tower, and he who flies to it will be delivered. Put off all other occupations, for though they may seem necessary, prayer is more necessary. Laws and canons are indeed useful; but, trust me, there is no use for them here. *Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.* Amidst such straits, let the priests weep between the porch and the altar, crying, *Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo!*" No one rises more penitent from the reading of laws or canons. I would rather that you ruminated the Psalms, and the moral books of Gregory: and if you apply thus wholly

* Joan. Sar. xv.

† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 645.

‡ Epist. St. Thom. xlii.

§ Ep. xxiii.

to your edification, abandoning all scholastic and litigious studies, God will help you, and you need not fear the machinations of man. He knows, as I am convinced, that in these present straits there is no mortal in whom we can have any hope *. How the conviction of a just cause breathes in the letters of these holy men! St. Thomas was so far from thinking to succeed by policy, that he is blamed by one of his correspondents for confiding his secrets to every one that passes; "*Nec, ut moris vestri est,*" says this adviser, "*quoslibet per vos trans-euntes secretorum vestrorum interpretes constituatis*†."

"Three things bind me to your defence," writes Gratian to the archbishop; "the fear of God, the love of justice, and zeal for ecclesiastical liberty. I should wish to correct your expression, to speak audaciously, saving your reverence, when you style your banishment miserable; for I think that those ought not to be styled miserable who are called blessed by our Lord, as suffering persecution for justice‡." "As for these enormous acts, brethren," says St. Thomas, writing to the people of England, "which are committed against justice and truth, they will only conduce more to the cause of both. For truth may be bound and fettered, but it cannot be conquered: it is content with the small number of its adherents, and is not terrified by the multitude of enemies§." To Conrad, archbishop of Mayence, as to the half of his soul, he begins a letter with these words: "*Inter optimam conscientiam et durissimam fortunam constitutus. . . ||.*" "O that this lot had not been mine, that I had not been preserved to see the evils of our nation and of the saints! unless that, as the Scripture saith, it is necessary that the just should suffer many evils temporally, through the love of justice. God sees what we suffer; He will examine; He will judge our cause in equity. No, with Christ's help, not if they should burst themselves, will they be able to tear me from the path of justice, from delivering the Church from slavery, according to the duty to which I am called by the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation until the coming of the Just Judge, who, with an even balance, will dispense to both, to the young and the old,

* Epist. xxi. † Epist. cclxi. ‡ Epist. cclx.

§ Epist. ccxlii. || Epist. xcix.

to the king and the subject, to all equally, according to their deserts. For this Judge I wait ; to this Avenger of injuries I appeal, strong in a good conscience, strong in a sincere devotion, strong in true faith, certain that, sustaining injury for the love of justice, I shall never be confounded ; that, breaking the horns of the persecutors of the Church, through zeal for justice, I shall not forfeit my hope of an everlasting recompense *."

" Friend of God," says John of Salisbury, writing to Walter de Insula, on occasion of his troubles for aiding the archbishop, " may your consolation be ever the same as mine and that of my fellow-exiles—the testimony of a good conscience, than which nothing in life can be more delightful. Under that Judge, no guilty one is absolved ; for on it waits the immortal worm and the inextinguishable fire †."

We have heard the actors and sufferers in these great dramas. Now, let us ask, What is the judgment of the men who from a distance looked on and scrutinized the cause and the character of those who were persecuted ? for their testimony and conduct must be heard and witnessed, in order to understand how wonderfully the whole body of the Church, during ages of faith, felt the sufferings of each member. Throughout this contest, then, all that the Church possessed of learning and of piety, was arrayed on the side of St. Thomas, as it was in the quarrel respecting investitures on that of the Pope. With the supreme Pontiff, such observations ought to commence, although, in truth, it could never have been a question, as to which side the Holy See inclined, after the passions of the moment, which prevented men from hearing it, had subsided. " We are oppressed with bitterness and anxiety of heart," says Pope Alexander III., writing to St. Thomas, " when we call to mind and meditate on the sufferings which you have endured with invincible fortitude, through a zeal for justice and for maintaining the liberty of the Church. That you could not be broken by adversity, nor removed from the constancy of your resolution, and that you should have evinced such admirable virtue and such patience, is a subject to us of rejoicing in the Lord ‡." Not to mul-

* Epist. xcix.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxix.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. cccvi.

tiply such testimonies then, let us remark how others, of inferior degree, acted, whose position rendered their judgment no less necessarily independent. Who has not heard of the generous and magnanimous conduct of the king of France, Louis-le-Jeune, when he defended St. Thomas of Canterbury? Nevertheless, the most unworthy, and, historically speaking, the most absurd doubts have been suggested as to his motives, by modern writers of a certain school. "The king," says Brial, "defended the cause of the archbishop, less, perhaps, from a conviction of the justice of his cause, than in order to embarrass the king of England; for Henry at that time maintained, respecting the ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction, no other maxims but those which we profess at this day in France *." Judging the latter assertion, in its application, wholly undeserving of notice, I believe it would not be difficult, from the contemporary writers, to disprove the validity of the former. The whole tenor of the king's conduct, even to his intervals of supineness, when John of Salisbury expressed his fears to St. Thomas, that to depend on him was to lean upon a reed †, is a sufficient refutation. "I spoke with the king," he says, in another letter, "and though he has compassion on you and on your fellow-exiles, and condemns the king's severity, yet he seems to speak with less fervour than before. He replied to me, that, indeed, he tenderly loved your paternity, and approved of your cause; but he feared, lest if he should advise the Lord Pope to do any thing by which he might lose the king of the English, that the Roman Church would impute to him the loss of such a friend. If he speaks thus at present, what can we hope from him when the king of England will be present, proposing many things for himself, and many against you; with threats one moment, and, at another, promises and various arguments on his tongue; having on his side the king's seneschal, and, still more, count Robert, whose wife has lately sent into England three hundred yards of Rheims' linen, to make shirts for the king, as a prudent woman, who, besides all the presents she receives from him, hopes that he will provide noble matches for her children, of whom they have many?

* Brial, *Recueil des Histor. de la France*, tom. xvi. Præf. ix. an 1814.

† Joan. SAR. Epist. xvli.

So that with such friends before him, I fear his part will be easily played when he arrives*." But, to return to observe the king's magnanimity, which was evidently inspired by the justice of the sufferer's cause.

Lombard of Placentia writes to Pope Alexander III., to inform him of the impression made upon the king of France, by the reports that his Holiness was inclined to abandon the archbishop's cause, to favour the king of England. "He endeavours to dishonour me," cried Louis, "seeking to shed the blood of the archbishop, an innocent man, an exile for justice and the liberty of the Church, impiously delivering him into the hands of his enemies and persecutors, whom, not through regard to past services, (for he injured us rather when he was chancellor, serving him who now persecutes him,) but on account of the justice of his cause, I have constantly resolved to nourish as if in my bosom, as long as he shall be in exile;" and he concluded by declaring that such an action would give him no less pain than if the Pope were to send ambassadors to take away his crown†. William of Chartres writes to him to the same effect: "The king of France, having heard your apostolic letters, was confused; and the whole kingdom with him, and with all the sons of the Church was afflicted, that, against a just man and a revered pontiff, such a writing should have emanated from the Apostolic see‡." "I cannot conceal from you," writes Richard, prior of St. Victor, to the Pope, "that your letters, in which you seemed to assent to the king of England's petitions relative to the archbishop, have greatly scandalized the mind of the king of France, and of many others§."

The words of Louis, when he heard that St. Thomas was obliged to leave Pontigni, in consequence of the king of England's letters in 1166, and his chivalrous reply to that monarch's invitation, that it was always the custom of the kings of France to receive graciously all persons exiled for justice, and that he would exercise his hereditary right towards the archbishop, must leave an impression on the mind of every observer far from favourable, respecting those who would suggest that the king was not actuated throughout by the highest senti-

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxi.

† Epist. cxxxviii.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. xcvi.

§ Epist. clxiv.

ments of honour and religion. The church of Canterbury, under Richard, the successor of St. Thomas, evinced its gratitude to the French king for his fidelity to her martyr, by enacting that three monks there should be appointed to implore God continually for him and for his queen and children; that at his death there should be the same office celebrated as for an archbishop of Canterbury; that each priest should say thirty masses, and others ten psalters; that the yearly provisions for one monk should be given to one poor person; that on his anniversaries for ever, every priest should say mass for him; and that all this was to be inscribed in their martyrology, which should be read before them every day for ever*. But it was not alone the king of France, who evinced sympathy for St. Thomas. "I return many thanks to your Holiness," writes Philip, count of Flanders, to the Pope, for showing in your letter to me such a benign and paternal affection for that venerable man, who is believed to be dear to God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I hope that you will always love and cherish him, in spite of every earthly fear or favour, and thus be a protector against the enemies of his Church. Otherwise, great would be the scandal to us and to the whole world; pernicious would be the example, and injurious to your reputation†." In fact, such was the universal voice. "Not alone the Roman, but also," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, "the whole Catholic Church knows how unjustly the lord of Canterbury is exiled, for what good work he is stoned, and how, for being a true son of the Church, he is pronounced a public enemy‡." "Your devout son the king of the French," says Peter, abbot of St. Remi, to the Pope, "exults in the things which he now hears, that you cherish the cause of the archbishop of Canterbury, contending for the liberty of the Church. The Gallican Church is gladdened; and its sadness, arising from the vanity of some who were lately insulting over truth, is changed into joy§." "There is no Church," says William of Chartres to the Pope, "which has been more useful in all your straits, than the Gallican. That Church now supplicates you

* Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. p. 167.

† Epist. St. Thom. lxxxii.

‡ Epist. lxxviii.

§ Epist. cxxii.

for my lord of Canterbury, now in the fourth year of his exile, banished for justice by a tyrant and a manifest persecutor*."

"For the faith and charity of Christ," says St. Thomas to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, "we beseech you to rise up with us against this man, whom no success will ever satisfy, as long as the Church of God has freedom. If you will not believe us or ours, ask the Gallican Church concerning him; ask Tours and the Aquitains, and the Normans, and those who visit Rome from England: you will not be able to doubt of our sincerity, unless you wilfully blind your eyes, that they may not see the truth†."

"I know not how," says John of Salisbury, writing to St. Thomas from the continent, "but, wherever I go, I find that the calamities of the English Church are well known; and I have heard many things which took place in the assemblies of London and Winchester, which, while I was in England, I never heard. I studiously dissemble concerning all the popular reports which are flying abroad. What will astonish you is, that when I came to Noyon, the count of Soissons related to the dean, *seriatim*, all the articles of that little council, or rather shall I say, spiteful club of London, as if he had been present, and had heard every word uttered in the conclave. There is no doubt but the French have persons to inform them of what passes there. The dean of Noyon, a man of high integrity of faith, heard of your persecution with great grief, and is prepared to receive you, not only to sacrifice his all for you, but to lay down his life, if there be occasion, for the Church of Canterbury‡." Afterwards, in a letter to Radulf, he says, "The archbishop, by the protection of God, has found that favour among foreigners, which he ought to have received from his own countrymen§." "In fact," saith he, in a letter to Milo, bishop of Téroüanne, "when the archbishop arrived at Sens, after leaving Pontigni, in the monastery of St. Columban, he was received as Christ; for, otherwise, I could not express the affection which was shown to this shipwrecked priest. Thus do our brethren sympathize with us, burning at our scandals,

* Epist. cxxxviii.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii.

‡ Epist. clxxi.

§ Epist. lvi.

infirm at our infirmity, and in a form of purer ethics, and of more consummate philosophy, thinking nothing human foreign to themselves *."

But let us hear how the French clergy express themselves. The bishop of Térouanne† writes to the Pope, on hearing of the machinations of the bishop of London; against St. Thomas, in these terms: "We are the nearest neighbours of the English, and, in consequence of the frequent intercourse between our people and theirs, we cannot be ignorant of what is done by them with such publicity. We implore you to bear assistance to this Church, which is now a prey to wolves in sheep's clothing‡." William, bishop elect of Chartres, writes to the Pope as follows: "The king of the English is endeavouring to subvert that noble Church of Canterbury, that in it he may destroy the liberty of the whole Church, and exclude the authority of the Apostolic See from his territories; that alone he may be able to do all things in his world, who desires all things for himself alone: and it is to be feared that, unless his wickedness be repressed, other princes will be excited by his example to persecute the Church of God. If he should prevail, which Heaven avert! the Church of the English perishes, and the Gallican is in danger. The Churches expect from you, as from their head, that you will bear assistance against the tyrant§." The great Maurice, bishop of Paris, writes to the Pope in the same sense: "The bishop of London, that wolf in sheep's clothing, is doing the works of Satan, endeavouring to withdraw from their obedience the suffragans of the archbishop, who, in our age, has shown himself an example to the West of a confessor of truth and virtue||." To the same effect writes the Church of Rheims to the Pope: "His justice is manifest. Who ever yet before required a Christian, in swearing to an obligation, to omit a saving of the honour of God? The eyes of all men are fixed on you, expecting that you will console the confessor; for his elevation will be the consolation of many. If so just a cause should be in danger, who will ever afterwards dare to resist the malice of the powers of this

* Epist. lii.

† Near Boulogne.

‡ Epist. cxvii.

§ Epist. lxxvii.

|| Epist. cxiv.

world *?" Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, writes to the Pope in these terms: "He must have a breast of iron or stone who does not feel for the sorrows of the Church of Canterbury, and he must have inhuman eyes who can refrain from tears at her tears. To all good men an object of pity, to none or to few among the French is she more so than to me, who have seen her glory, and felt her benefits, and known her devotion to the Roman Church †." William, bishop of Auxerre, begins his letter to the Pope with these words: "If one member suffer, must not the others suffer with it? When, therefore, that noble member of the universal Church, that primal see of the Britains, and mother of faith in the West, the Church of Canterbury, suffers from her unnatural sons abusing their power, we must feel compassion, and with her and for her hasten to procure assistance from the pastor and bishop of our souls ‡." "Nevertheless," as John of Salisbury assures St. Thomas, "although in England many were silent, yet were there some among bishops and others, who in the piety of faith and a good conscience were expecting the kingdom of God, as Joseph was faithful in the house of Pharaoh, and Lot just in Sodom §." Lastly, let us hear the solemn testimony of the holy retired men of the Carthusian order: "The King of kings and Lord of lords has opened his hand and extended your power," they say to king Henry; "you ought, therefore, to have ever before your eyes that terrible warning of the Holy Scripture, *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur*. It is published from the East unto the West, that you afflict the Churches of your kingdom intolerably, and require from them things unheard of, or things which former kings ought never to have sought; and though, in your time, since God has given you much wisdom, such an affliction might be endured, yet, after your death, perhaps such men will reign as will devour the Church with open mouth, and, hardened like Pharaoh, will say, *Nescio Dominum, et Israel non dimittam*. Have regard then to your dignity, to your nobility, to your race, to your celebrated name, and, with a clement eye, behold the sadness of the holy Church, which is almost every where trampled upon ||." That the personal love and veneration

* Epist. clixiii.

† Epist. cxcv.

‡ Epist. cxevi.

§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xli.

|| St. Thom. Epist. clii.

with which the sufferer was regarded, arose from a conviction of the justice of his cause, is even expressly attested. Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, says: "You can write by the regular canon, brother Adam, *Qui propter zelum justitiæ vos diligit* *." So also John of Salisbury, writing to him, says: "When I saw the letters which you have directed to the king of England and to your suffragans, I rejoiced with a great joy for the fervour and zeal which animate you for the Church of God, and that, in these perilous times, there should be found at least one man who does not fear to draw the sword for blessed Peter, in the name of Christ, for the injuries of the Church, for the members of Christ, which He has redeemed with His blood, against the servants of iniquity, the enemies of truth, and the persecutors of the Christian name †."

With respect to the accusations of pride and despotism brought against St. Thomas, the holy martyr might have answered in the words, already cited, of St. Ambrose, when he was accused of wishing to act the tyrant,— "Bishops are not tyrants; but they often suffer persecution from tyrants." The moderns, who feel inclined to doubt his virtue, should remark that Peter of Blois, his contemporary, so keen a critic and so bold a monitor, when he could detect the least passion or ambiguous aim in spiritual persons, invariably speaks of him with unqualified reverence ‡. He makes no question for an instant, on hearing of his death, that he is a glorified martyr; and, in a studied summary of his character, represents him as shining in qualities which are incompatible with arrogance. "He was in judgment," he says, "upright, in anticipation discreet, in speaking modest, in counsel circumspect, in anger pacific, amidst injuries meek, in showing mercy perfect, in misericordiis totus §." Extolling his firmness, Petrus Cellensis condemns some who said that he ought to give up to the king to secure peace: "For they say," he writes, "that the archbishop ought not so earnestly to seek back his own from the king of England, as to give up the peace of reconciliation on account of the loss of money. They are deceived by the hope of a true, and by the adulation of a false man.

* Epist. lviii.

† Pet. Bles. Epist. xxvii.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xl.

§ Epist. xxvii.

Times, and the different states of times, which change the merits of cases, are to be taken into account. For in the primitive Church patience alone had place, so that to whoever took the tunic the cloak was also to be given; for he who persecuted was without, and he who suffered within the Church: but now that the Church is adult, it is not lawful for her children to do what her enemies did; for it becomes her as a mother to correct a son, as when in pupilage it was her part to tolerate an adversary *." But it is needless to inquire what was said and thought of him by kings and princes, or even perhaps by philosophers and orators, when we know that the people, the devout people, as the Church denominates them, that the instinct of the faithful multitude, which could not have deceived them on such an occasion, proclaimed so unequivocally the right of the archbishop to join the glorious company of those who suffer persecution on account of justice.

"It ought to be a common grief," says St. Thomas, writing to the clergy of Chichester, "when the Lord, and Redeemer, and Judge of all men, Christ, is dishonoured; when the liberty of the Church perishes; when the public safety is in danger †." He had the consolation of seeing that it was so. The king of the French might prove a broken reed, as John of Salisbury was inclined to fear, and indeed as he seemed to become, when, after hearing the king of England speak, he turned to St. Thomas, and said, "Lord archbishop, do you wish to be greater than the saints and better than Peter? Why do you doubt?" and then turned his mind for some days against him; so that he neither made him his accustomed visits, nor ministered necessities and food to his attendants, as he had been used to do by his servants ‡; the nobles of England might take their stand on the side of his persecutors, as when he arrived at Canterbury after his long banishment, where every thing seemed to threaten his speedy destruction by the enemies who thirsted for his blood; and "scarcely any one of the number of the rich and honourable came to visit him §;"

* Pet. Cellens. Epist. lib. i. 10.

† Epist. ccxxvi.

‡ Gervas. Dorober. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. p. 132.

§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xciii.

“ the great and influential men in England might all,” as John of Salisbury says, “ be turned into wolves greedy and rapacious, despising authorities and justice * :” but the people watched events with other eyes, and acted differently. “ Comfort us, father, and be strong,” cries the holy archbishop, addressing the Pope ; “ there are more with us than with them †.” He might well say so. “ God hath conferred on you a great honour,” says Nicholas of Rouen in his letter to him, “ hath granted you a great felicity. Christ is witness to your work in heaven, your conscience in your heart ; and, what rarely happens, and but to very few, this is added to complete your rejoicing, that the devotion of the whole multitude comes to your assistance in God, and the universal testimony of the people bears witness to the excellence of your cause ‡.” John, bishop of Poitiers, writes to him to the same effect : “ I was hastening,” he says, “ before I saw your messenger ; but ere I could arrive, all things were known by all, and the earth was full of the glory of the Lord ; and every hearer exulted that there was a man found who would speak prudence before the princes of the earth §.” In France, the common people and the poor boys in the streets, whenever they saw him pass, used to cry out to each other, “ Look ! there is the holy archbishop, who refused to deny God on account of kings, and who would not pass over in silence the honour of God.” Then it was that the king of England, being informed of the fact, expressed his surprise that the French king would suffer his enemy to remain in his dominions ||. With the same sentiments the people of England were animated. “ Almost all with whom we have spoken,” says the procurator of the church of Canterbury, in a letter to him, “ so love your person, and desire your arrival and presence with such an ardour of mind, that you could scarcely believe it ; but fear compels them to dissemble, as if they did not love you ¶.” At the moment of the archbishop’s landing in England at Sandwich, some soldiers and officers met him, instigated by the prelates of York, London, and Salisbury,

* Joan. Sar. Epist. c.

† St. Thom. Epist. cxiv.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. xx.

§ Epist. xi.

|| Ger. Doroher. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. 132.

¶ St. Thom. Epist. ccxcvi.

who required Simon, archdeacon of Sens, who accompanied him on a visit to some of his friends, to take an oath of fidelity to the king against all men, without excepting the Pope. "But," says St. Thomas, in his letter to Alexander, "we did not permit him to take it, fearing lest, by the authority of such an example, the clergy of the kingdom might be required to take the same oath, if it were imposed on our domestics, in order to prepare the way for destroying the authority of the Apostolic See in the kingdom. But the officers who required the oath were too few in number to be able to compel us to do any thing in that place against our will, because the people who were rejoicing at our return would have been stronger than they were, if any force had been attempted. Thence proceeding we arrived at our church, and were received by the clergy and people with great devotion*." In fact, his whole progress to Canterbury was a long and magnificent ovation, the air resounding with the cry of the people, "Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord." But it is time now to observe the character and deeds of those who persecuted the children of beatitude for the sake of that justice which was involved in the freedom of the Church of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE opposition of kings to the ecclesiastical influence began early. Chilperick, whose complaints, as a modern author says, "were not wanting in good sense†," used to exclaim, "Our fisc is impoverished; our riches pass to the churches: no one now reigns but bishops. Our honour is gone, and transferred to the bishops of cities." This son of the first Clothaire, imbued with the old leaven of the Germanic ferocity, affected to regard the clergy with a kind of philosophic disdain, suffered himself to be governed by his passions unrestrained, and was alter-

* Epist. cccxii.

† Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, i.

nately swayed by avarice and lust; he had more wives at the same time than any other prince of the Merovingian race; he was the murderer of his wife, the innocent Galeswinthe; the murderer of his brother Sighebert; the persecutor of his own son Merowig, whom he forced to be ordained priest against his will, in contempt of the canons, whose friends, when the prince afterwards procured his own death rather than fall into his father's hands, he caused to expire in tortures inconceivable; the husband worthy of Fredegond, to whose direction he abandoned himself, a tyrant incomparably more ferocious than his other brother Gonthramn, who however had once put many free men to the torture, to revenge the loss of a hunting-horn, and decapitated the two physicians who had not succeeded in saving Austrehilde. Such was the king, who in the sixth century found the authority of the clergy insupportable, who viewed with jealous eyes the property of the Church and the influence of the bishops, which enabled them to exercise most of the prerogatives of the ancient municipal magistrates; who tried to impose his notions on the Church as articles of faith, saying to St. Gregory of Tours, "*Sic volo ut tu et reliqui doctores ecclesiarum credatis;*" whose delight it was to annul all legal acts in their favour, and whose complaints of "their encroachments" were bitter and reiterated, though they were the only men who pitied him and would have averted his calamities with sighs, exclaiming, "*Alas, alas! the sword of the wrath of God seems suspended over his house, and we fear that it will fall on him and on his children *.*"

Passing to more civilized ages, we find the same jealousy excited in the breasts of kings. Let us observe what change had been effected in their character. When Innocent III. expressed fears that Philip Augustus hated the bishop of Cambray, "*We answer you,*" replied the king, "*that we hate no priest, and that we would injure no priest, least of all one who is a bishop and a priest †.*" It would have been well if all kings and princes during the middle ages could have borne to themselves with truth the same testimony. But later times have seen royal ordinances against the inalienable rights of the

* Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, i.

† Ap. Martene, *Coll. Ampl.* i. 1079.

episcopacy passed by religious sovereigns, who seemed to think always that it is well and delectable, as poets say,

“To meet, and in the holy quire breathe up
Our sacred hymns, while angels echo to us.
And heaven, delighted with our harmony,
Opening her azure curtains, will present us
A vision of all the joys we pray and hope for *.”

One sovereign, who contributed to a schism by his interference with elections, attached such value to his privilege of chanting the seventh lesson at matins on the night of Christmas, that when the emperor Charles IV. came to visit him, he sent officers to intimate that he should remain at Cambray for the festival, where being in his own dominions he could observe the imperial custom in this respect, which would not have been suffered if he had proceeded into France to St. Quentin, as he was proposing †.

Our Norman princes, too, loved to meet with saints and troops angelical. King Richard I. took great pleasure in the music of his chapel on the chief solemnities, and used to pay much attention to it, adorning it with precious vestments, and exciting the chaplains to sing well; sometimes making signs to them with his hand to indicate how they should regulate their chant ‡.

Some persecutors of the Church during the middle ages, it is true, were undisguised adversaries of all Godhood. St. Gregory VII. suffered from an emperor stained with the abominations of every vice; sunk so deep in crime, that, like the Byzantine emperor Michael, he desecrated, with the wicked mob of his court, the sacred night of the nativity by a shameful mimicry of the holy mysteries §; but in general they professed at least a respect for the religion which they outraged. They were crafty and skilful men, who never wanted an excuse to palliate their most atrocious deeds. As John of Salisbury observed of the emperor Frederic, when he compares his beginning to his latter end, when from a prince he became a tyrant, and from a Catholic emperor a schismatic and

* Shirley. † *Chroniques de S. Denis*, ad an. 1377.

‡ *Chronicon Anglicarum*, an. 1199. ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* tom. v.

§ Döllinger, *Dr. Cox*, iii. 301.

a heretic, "I do not say that in the articles of faith they did not believe rightly; but because they did not suffer truth to proceed according to the integrity of the ecclesiastical order, they may be styled heretics *."

A vain mundane guest like Froissart might recount with infinite complacency circumstances which denoted the indifference or connivance of potent princes, in regard to the desolations of the Church. "One cannot," says that chronicler, "too often speak about or recommend the things which I observed in the castle of the count of Foix, which conduced to my great pleasure. There I saw seated at table on Christmas-day four bishops, two of them Clementines and the other two Urbanists †." But assuredly, while the voices of the heralds and the music of the minstrels resounded through the hall, there must have been in that immense company of abbots, knights, monks, and seigneurs, some thoughtful stranger on whom such a memento of the Church's sorrow acted as a mental persecution. Many princes openly espoused the cause of men, whose elections to the sees they claimed were flagrantly uncanonical and unjust; and where they did recognise the true pastors, it was often only to control and molest them.

"Like another Cæsar," says Pope Alexander III. to Henry II., "contending to be alone in yourself in all things, you not only seek to obtain the things which are Cæsar's, as is right, but you fear not to usurp the things which are God's, unlawfully, and to the peril of your soul ‡." "The minds of the adversaries of the Church of God," says John of Salisbury, writing to St. Thomas, "are so hardened that they will admit of no condition whatever, unless one that will utterly destroy the liberty of the Church §." "I know not how," says St. Thomas, "but the cause of the Lord is always sacrificed at court, that Barabbas may escape, and that Christ may be slain ||." "You are going to the court," says John of Salisbury to Radulph Black: "well, if you can be Lot in Sodom, Joseph in Pharaoh's hall, and Daniel in Babylon, you may go there safely and with profit to your soul ¶." "In our country," writes St. Thomas to William of Pavia,

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xliii.

† St. Thom. Epist. ciii.

|| Epist. cclvii.

‡ Liv. iii. c. 18.

§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxiii.

¶ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxviii

"you have fought with wild beasts; and in the very court, where we are the most fiercely attacked, you have long borne the burthen and heat of the day*." "If that great monster should vomit you from your land!" says Petrus Cellensis, speaking of Henry II. to the bishop of Exeter†. These are strong expressions, but hardly too severe. "The king being at Caen," says a correspondent of the archbishop, "and speaking against Richard de Humez, burst into shameful words. In his usual fury he started up, cast the cap from his head, unclasped his belt, flung off his cloak and all his clothes to the farthest end of the room, with his own hand threw off the silk covering which was on the bed, and, as if sitting on the dunghill, began to masticate the straws of the mattress‡." "It is well known," says Nicholas of Rouen to St. Thomas, "that the youth who presented your letters to the king was immediately placed in straits, and had fingers thrust into his eyes until the blood started out, and had hot water poured down his throat until he confessed that it was master Heribert who had given him the letters. He is still in irons§." In the letter of Baldwin and Maurice, the bishops of Noyon and Paris, to Alexander, the king is described as a man not content with curtailing the lawful liberty of his subjects, with gratuitously afflicting the innocent, deceiving his neighbours, and defrauding his allies, unless he can trample on the Church against all law and justice||. "The clamour of the world," says William, archbishop of Sens, to the Pontiff, "must have informed you how this most famous, I will not say king of England, but rather enemy of the English and of the whole body of Christ, is malicious against the saint whom you have appointed¶." "The advocates of the king say, perhaps," observes St. Thomas to the Pope, "that all this is done through a personal hatred of my name: but from the beginning the liberty of the Church was persecuted as if by an hereditary right. Was I archbishop when his father prohibited the nuncio of blessed Eugene from entering his kingdom? Was I archbishop when Gregory, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing his tyranny, per-

* Epist. cclxxvii.

† Pet. Cel. Lib. v. Epist. iv.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. lxxvii.

§ Epist. lxxviii.

|| Epist. cclvi.

¶ St. Thom. Epist. cccxv.

suaded Eugene not to permit Eustache, the son of king Stephen, to be crowned, saying, 'that it was easier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail?' Was I archbishop when the king transferred the church of Boscham, or during the affair of the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Bello? All this was done because the king and the court chose it: let them say who has ever been able to obtain justice from him by the authority of the apostolic see. Certainly they will not adduce a single instance, and they can name many who have been endangered through his hatred of the Roman name*." In truth, the king's whole life explains that monstrous and unparalleled act, when he refused the humble advances of the archbishop, offered on his knees, on account of his saying that he submitted himself "to God and to the king, to the honour of God and of the king." "For that one word, *ad honorem Dei*, he would not receive him," say the two holy priors Simon and Engelbert, relating to the Pope the success of their mediation†. "With the successors of Peter, with the vicars of Christ," demands St. Thomas, "ought there to be acceptance of persons? What glory is it before God and men to administer justice on the poor, and not on the powerful? See how the king abuses license. Lo, for the last five years he retains for his own use the revenues of the sees of Lincoln, Bath, Hereford, and Ely! All the possessions of Llandaff he has given to his soldiers. Bangor is vacant now ten years, and he will not suffer a bishop to be ordained to it. What shall I say of the abbeys, which he treats in the same manner, of which I know not the number! And this he glories in doing by the law of his customs. If we had yielded to him, neither we nor any of ours would have suffered any loss; and if we were to consent to them now, the way would be instantly open to us to regain the familiarity of the king and the dominion of the whole kingdom. But Heaven forbid that for the sake of personal advantage we should betray the public liberty of the Church, root out the privilege of the apostolic see from England, and incur for temporal benefits an eternal loss. So because we will not overthrow the Church, the king seeks our overthrow; because we will not sacrifice the law of God to the iniquity of tyrants, he

* Epist. cxxxiv.
VOL. XI.

† Epist. clvi.
R

seeks our removal to another church, that he may exercise a sort of commerce in our blood with the associates of his wickedness *." But one need only open any of the king's letters, to be able to estimate his violence and his pretensions. Thus to the king of France he says, "You should know that Thomas, who was archbishop of Canterbury, is publicly judged in my court, by a plenary council of the barons of my kingdom, as a perjured villain and a traitor, under which name he has wickedly departed. Therefore, I beseech you not to suffer in your kingdom a man so infamous for crimes and treasons, nor any of his adherents; for he is my enemy, and I would never permit any enemy of yours to remain in my kingdom. Assist me therefore efficaciously to revenge my shame upon mine enemy, and to maintain my honour as you would wish I should do to you if there were occasion †." "Clearly it is known," he says elsewhere, "how iniquitously he acted against me and my kingdom; how pompous, how rebellious and seditious he has always shown himself against me; and how he has nefariously attempted to injure my reputation, and to diminish the dignities of my kingdom ‡."

Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, relates his own interview with the empress Mathilda, with a view to persuade her to mollify the king. "We related to her," he says, "all things in order, as you enjoined, and enumerated verbally, because we had lost the paper, the customs of the king, observing to her that some were against the Christian faith, and almost all against the liberty of the Church; so that they were fraught with eternal, and also temporal danger to herself and to her son. She then required to see the paper, and, by the will of God, we found it the next day. So all other persons being removed from her bedchamber, in which she received us, she ordered us to read it in Latin, and to explain it in French; the woman is of the race of tyrants, mulier de genere tyrannorum est; and some things she approved of, as that no officers of the king should be excommunicated without license from him. I would not proceed until I had discussed that point, showing her the evangelic precept,

* Epist. clxxxii.

† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. p. 107.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. xxvi.

Dic ecclesiæ,—not dic Regi, and other things. She thought, however, that the customs ought not to be written, nor the bishops compelled to swear that they would observe them*.”

Her notions of defending the persecuted may be gathered from her letter to the archbishop, in which she says, “The Pope having enjoined it on me to intervene between you and my son, the king, I have sent to inquire from you respecting your dispositions towards my son, and how you wish to conduct yourself, if he should grant my petition, and make peace with you. One thing also I will tell you truly, that unless by great humility, and the most evident moderation, you will never recover his favour†.” It was not difficult to divine what these words meant. *The mulier de genere tyrannorum est,* gives a sufficient explanation.

It was observed at the time, that the conduct of the king throughout was marked with a deep cunning, a characteristic feature almost always of such persecutors. The Italian diplomatists saw through him, though at first even they were deceived. “He does not contradict plainly,” says the legate Vivianus, “but he changes words, in order craftily to bind one afterwards. This we have discovered later; for in almost all his words to the Church of God, he is sophistical and captious‡.” “How much this legate laboured to make peace, we cannot express in words,” says St. Thomas, in a letter to the Pope, “and unless we had been present, scarcely could we have believed it§.” But Richard de Welcestre assured some, that the king, if it were necessary, would remain till his death disobedient, not only to the Pope, but to God himself, rather than have peace with the archbishop||.

“No one ever yet escaped his snares,” he says again to the bishop of Nevers, “who has come into contact with them. You must regard every thing around him with suspicion; for all will be full of deceit. If he should find that he can either corrupt or intimidate you, from that instant your authority is gone, and he will deride you; but if he should not be able to move you from your

* Epist. xx.

† Id. Ep. xxv.

‡ Ep. ccxxxv.

§ Ep. ccxxxvi.

|| Ep. S. Thom. cclxxiv.

path, he will pretend fury at first; he will swear and forswear; he will imitate Protheus, and will at length return to himself, and seem all divinity. The man, among other things, boasts among his familiar friends, that he is an explorer of characters and manners, a deluder and mocker of the good; and if an incautious word should escape any one, immediately he has his witnesses, and pretends injury. Therefore be sparing of words in his presence *."

That he was immediately accessory to the archbishop's death, could not at the time be doubted. "The bearer of these letters," writes the procurator of Canterbury to St. Thomas, as the archbishop was on the point of returning to England, having made his peace with the king, but without having obtained the promise of his "grace," "will relate some secrets to you by word of mouth, which are abominable, if they can be believed, and yet they are true. It is not necessary, my lord, that they should be revealed to many; but if it please you, let them be buried when you have heard them without a witness. This, again and again, my lord, we commend to your memory, that you ought not to hasten to come to England, until you can obtain purer grace from our lord the king: for there is not one man in England, trustworthy and faithful to you, who does not despair of your being at peace with him †."

In the meanwhile the king gives him different counsel. "I could not meet you as I proposed," he writes to him, "but I send John, dean of Salisbury, (John of Oxford, a sinister name in this history,) my familiar clerk, to accompany you into England, and to signify to my son, that you shall be well and honourably received; and that all things shall be arranged as you desire. And as many things are told me concerning your delay and hindrance, at present, which perchance are not true, I think it is expedient that you do not defer any longer to go to England ‡."

The rest is well known. The archbishop returns and is slain. Then follows the letter of William, archbishop of Sens, to the Pope: "O man of God, put on the fortitude of him whose seat you occupy, and act as your

* Ep. cclxvi.

† Epist. cxcxvi.

‡ Ep. cccviii.

duty demands, towards the tyrant who persecutes God, who hath so perfidiously and so inhumanly slain your son by foul murderers. This act exceeds the crimes of Nero, the cruelty of Herod, the perfidy of Julian. The peace publicly made did not recall the traitor from pursuing his iniquity, who, as if he could not rage enough by himself, had instigators of his fury in those false and ever to be detested brethren, Roger, that archdevil of York, and the apostates, not bishops, of London and Salisbury *."

How does the king himself write to the pope on this event? "Health and due devotion. Through respect for the Roman Church, and love for you, which, God knows, I have faithfully sought, and constantly preserved, I indulged Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, according to the form of your mandate, with full restitution of his property, and I allowed him, with an honest escort, to return to England; but on his arrival, he brought not the joy of peace, but fire and sword, proposing a question against me, of my kingdom and my crown. Moreover, he excommunicated my servants. So not being able to endure the insolence of the man, some of the persons he had excommunicated rushed on him, and, I am sorry to say, slew him. Therefore, God knows, I am grievously troubled, because I fear, the anger I had against him may have led to this crime. And since I fear more for my fame than for my conscience, I beg your serenity to assist me with wholesome advice in this article †."

"Alas! what shall we do to the soul of the king of the English, lately our sister?" says Peter Bernard, ex-prior of Grandmont, to William the prior. "It has become blacker than extinct coals. Alas! he who founded our churches, has violated the church of Canterbury! Alas! if you knew what I have heard, you would think of our late legation with horror. Henry, king of England, has killed St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I wish that I had slept more profound than the earth, when the most holy Pope and the French bishops sent me to the same Henry, with the prior of the Carthusians. I wish they had left us wandering in our solitudes, hidden in the caves and dens of Grandmont. I

* Ep. cccxv.

† Ep. cccxviii.

can write no more. Let there be prayers without ceasing to God for me, who am overwhelmed*."

As soon as the assassins had slain the martyr, they returned to his palace, searched all his shelves and cabinets, and then sent over all the writings which they could find to the king in Normandy†. Even long before the consummation, John of Salisbury remarked, "that the plots and spies of the king were every where, and that he feared and suspected every thing ‡." The tyrant might well say now to the Pope, without diminishing the presumption of his guilt, "that God could witness he was afraid."

There is a distinction to be remarked generally between the French and English kings, in their persecution of the Church. The former were served by legists, and men that wielded pens; the latter, by unworthy priests, and by men of blood like the slaves who slew Pompey, and who said to Cæsar,

"Si scelus est, plus te nobis debere fateris
Quod scelus hoc non ipse facis §."

The same elements indeed were in some degree found every where, more or less developed; for if the parliaments of France, while slaves of the king, attacked bulls of the sovereign pontiffs and apostolic legates, under colour of defending the liberties of the Gallican Church||, which only meant riveting its chains, those of England were often violent and unjust towards the spiritual power; and Sir Henry Spelman's History of Sacrilege will show how in every age worldly men of riches and power made havoc of the Church. In Henry IVth's reign, in England, an attempt was made upon the lands of the clergy, and in the reign of Henry V. the priories alien were suppressed. He gives numerous instances of sacrilege committed by knights and barons in the middle ages. On the other hand, on the continent, a modern French writer describes as a religious reformation, the coalition of princes and barons in the time of Otho, to reduce the Church to its primitive poverty. "One

* Ep. cccxix.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. xciv.

‡ Joan. Sar. Ep. xxviii.

§ Lucan. ix.

|| La Roche Flavyn, les trêze Livres des Parlement de France, xiii. 45. Floquet, Hist. des Parl. de Norm.

murmured," he says, "in the camps against the riches of bishops and monks; one spoke of seizing their goods, to distribute them amongst men of arms and vassals, who longed to exchange their poverty for the fiefs of the Church *." Thus both elements were together.

But in France, in general the proceedings assumed more a legal and literary form; so that in the thirteenth century the devil used to be qualified, "as the pleader or jurist against the priest." The encyclopedial romances of the fourteenth century, such as the *Songe du Verger*, and the *Songe du Vieux Pèlerin*, prepared the way for the decline of the spiritual power, and the confiscation of the goods of the Church †. Chiefly in France the parliaments, and above all the legists, served the false interests of the civil power well, though the latter could despise its instruments, as when Philippe de Valois was heard to say, "The Popes are better legists than you men of law." Their cry was that of the Pharisees of old, "*Turba hæc, quæ non novit legem, maledicti sunt.*" Nogaret, Plasian, and Pierre Flotte were miniature Luthers of the fourteenth century, having the king and the sword on their side, in the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel and his nobles ‡.

The legal method was tried, however, elsewhere. St. Thomas, describing to the Pope what passed in England, observes that those who remain proof against open violence, are assailed in a more artful way, as our Lord himself was betrayed with a kiss; that, under pretence of justice, and through respect for the law, they may be subverted, and God, as it were, legally and legitimately impugned §. Thus Sir Thomas More, according to Cromwell's report, "has been openly detected and lawfully convicted, judged, and condemned of high treason, by the due order of the laws of this realm, having such malice rooted in his heart against his sovereign, that he was well worthy, if he had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death and execution than he did suffer."

From the first, the legists or jurisconsults joined the

* Capefigue, *Hist. de Phil.* August. tom. iii. 211.

† Michelet, *Hist. de France*, iii. 490.

‡ Michelet, *Hist. de France*, iii. 166.

§ Ep. lxxlii.

persecutors of the Church. Among that class of men in heathen times, there was something narrow, hard, and exclusively formal, which could never agree well with the generosity and freedom of the new law. According to the legists, the emperor was a personification of the city and people of Rome, and sovereign in religious as well as in civil affairs. In the second century Plautien the jurisconsult excited Septimius Severus against the Christians, representing them as mining the imperial power, the religious policy of the state, and social order. Thirty years later, two other jurisconsults, Ulpian and Paul, prepossessed Alexander Severus against them, and advised edicts of persecution, collecting into one body all the laws directly or indirectly against them, and instructing the public officers to be implacably severe in their execution.

In the middle ages, there were legists willing to act the same part, as far as the change of circumstances would permit ; and as in the old mysteries, in which Pilate and Judas were represented in close brotherhood, so the legists and such kings as Philip-le-Bel seemed to have been made expressly for each other. The legists were detested by the people. Candelarius, to express the singular virtue of a particular epoch, says,

“ Et jam legistæ populo placuere volenti,
Quorum nemo alio tempore gratus erat *.”

Infidelity, as we observed, entered largely into the views of some royal persecutors. Indeed, as Philippe de Comines argues, “ No king, duke, count, prince, or princess in the world would have been such foes to human happiness, as to violate the sacred rights of others, if all had believed firmly what God and the Church commanded them to believe : so that we must conclude that all these evils came from the want of faith.” Many made no secret of their indifference respecting the Crescent. Faith could not be very strong in the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, when he proposed to his officers, before risking a battle with Charles V., to kill ten thousand Christian slaves who were in the arsenal, which proposal those brave men rejected with abhorrence ; or in Frederic II. when he kept

* Encom. 7. lib. ii.

twenty thousand Saracens in Italy, where he gave them the fortress of Nocera, which still bears the name of Nocera dei Mori, whence they used to issue, ravaging the country and pillaging the monasteries, as when St. Claire delivered that of St. Damien at Asissi, by her prayers; or in king Manfred, when he used to walk forth by night, as a Moorish troubadour, along with two Sicilian musicians, while he was carrying on war with the Pope, and replying to the Neapolitan envoys, who begged him to make peace, saying, "that Naples being excommunicated, the archbishop could not say mass," that he would send three hundred Saracens to Naples, who would take care that mass should be said there by force *. Hence, as a most honourable distinction from other princes, Froissart observes of the count Gaston de Foix, "Qu'il n'avoit ni onques nul Mahomet decostes lui †."

In England, analogous seeds had been sown in royal breasts, or rather from the Conquest by the Normans were indigenous to the soil. William arrogated a control over synods and bishops, and their correspondence with Rome; William Rufus and Henry assumed the right of investiture. King Stephen, indeed, as St. Thomas observed, "was restrained from persecution by incurring an anathema without appeal, and having his kingdom placed under an interdict. It was thus," as he says, "by the staff and the clamour of the dogs, that the wolf was kept off from the fold ‡."

But many others were inclined to act like Frederic II. who, when he heard that he was excommunicated, put his hand on his sword and cried, "Hitherto have I obeyed him. From this moment no more peace with the proud one §."

They had all men in their parliaments, like the Cromwells, the Riders, the Russells, and the Paulets, under Henry VIII., ready to yield to every mandate of their will, bent with every breath of their capricious humour, willing to sanction illegal trials, iniquitous attainders, sanguinary statutes, and impious enactments against the Church, "constant only in the rapacious acquisition of

* Matt. Spinelli, *Ephem. Neapolitanæ*.

† *Chroniques*, liv. iii. c. 13.

‡ St. Thom. Ep. lxxxiv.

§ Audin, *Hist. de Luther*.

estates and honours," and, like the earl of Argyle, secretary of Scotland, ready to declare on all occasions, that if they should be required to swear and to subscribe that they were Turks, they would do it before they would lose their office.

It is an empty boast of modern times, that they first have seen men emancipated from the fear of the Vatican thunder. "Some persons less intelligent," says St. Anselm, "complain that I do not excommunicate the king; but wiser men advise me not to do so; for, besides other reasons, they assure me that my excommunication would be despised by him and turned into ridicule *." John was so little fixed in faith, that he is thought to have embraced the Mahometan superstition †. Political fears might work on such men, but not the religious apprehension of ecclesiastical censures.

When the bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester interceded with king John for the monks of Canterbury, whom he treated with such tyrannic barbarity because a worthy pontiff had been placed in that see, the king replied, "If an interdict be laid on, I will send out of the kingdom to the Pope all the bishops and clergy, and seize their goods. Yea, perhaps every Roman found in my kingdom shall be sent back with his eyes put out, and his nose cut off ‡."

Writing to Gilbert, bishop of London, St. Thomas shows himself aware of what ground lies beneath his feet, and in consequence foresees an occasion when the arms of the Church will prove of no avail; for he says, "although the indignation and hand of the chief pontiff are slow, nevertheless they are efficacious and heavy, inflicting an incurable wound sometimes according to merits: for there is no one under the sun who can deliver from his hand. An infidel alone, or a heretic, or a schismatic, may refuse to obey his mandates §."

Many of these kings, if not awed by the political consequences, would have cared little for his mandates, heedless whether or not they incurred that vice of paganism, as William, archbishop of Sens, terms it,

* S. Anselmi Epist. lib. iii. 40.

† Hurter, Geschichte, tom. iii.

‡ Ib. tom. iii. 11. 123.

§ St. Thom. Ep. lix.

which consisted in such disobedience *. Their satellites cared as little for ecclesiastical censures. "Those who do not avoid the men excommunicated by my lord of Canterbury," says John of Salisbury, "do not injure him, but themselves †." Who were these satellites? As I observed, these were generally in England, men of blood and unworthy priests. Among these former, in the time of St. Thomas, we read of Richard de Luci, the enemy of his own name, endeavouring vehemently and irreverently to blacken the person of the archbishop; so that through hatred of the fables he used to relate concerning him, the king himself used to say that he wondered he could invent so many ‡.

Such were also Randolph de Brock, who used to plunder the goods of the Church, and deposit them in the castle of Saltwode, in whose old towers, still habitable, I have beguiled a tedious hour. He used to boast, in the hearing of many, that St. Thomas should not long enjoy his peace with the king, and that he should not eat a whole loaf in England before he would take his life. "But, my serene lord," says the archbishop to the king, after mentioning this boast, "what could Randolph do, unless confiding in your will, and armed with your authority? If you neglect to correct him, you will be partaker of his crime §." Such, in fine, were the immediate instruments of the martyr's death, William de Traci, Reginald Ursi, Hugo de Morevilla, and Richard Brito, some of whom have descendants still in England, who, it is said, delight, through penitence no doubt, in showing a representation of the deed of blood sculptured over their castle-gate. It remains to observe the unworthy priests and bishops who constituted the other class of ministers and assistants of the king in persecuting the Church. The race is of all times; Sir Thomas More beheld them enabling Henry VIII. to accomplish his direful end. He calls them "a weak clergy, lacking grace; who, for want of it, stand weakly to their learning, and so shamefully self-abuse themselves."

"For the glory of the saints," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "and for the condemnation of the reprobate, it is necessary that scandals should come, that the elect

* Ep. cccxxlii.

† Joan. Sar. xxxviii.

‡ St. Thom. Epist. xxvii.

§ Ep. cccix.

may be proved by tribulations, who, through patience, acquire a crown for themselves, and a benefit for others by their example *."

So it must be always, even in ages of greatest faith and tranquillity. "The martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered corporal tribulation, but we, being at peace, must suffer spiritual tribulation; and it is necessary, that, amidst scandals, and tares, and chaff, the Church, that mass of heterogeneous elements, should groan, until the harvest, until the threshing, until the last winnowing, which is to separate the wheat from the straw, that it may be brought into the barn†."

It is a melancholy page in history, that no tears of the holy can blot out, which records the opposition of unworthy priests to holy Popes and prelates, who sought to correct abuses and restore liberty to the Church. What had not St. Gregory VII. to suffer from false pastors, who opposed him by their deeds and by their pens? Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna, the artful cardinal Hugo, and the fierce Cenci, whose hands were stained by murders—these were the heads of the conspiracy at that time. The emperor's other instruments were bishops, whom he had formed for the purpose in his own school. Otho of Constance, Pibo of Toul, Rupert of Bamberg, Hozmann of Spire, William of Verona, William of Utrecht, Siegfred of Mentz, Otho of Ratisbon, Burchard of Lausanne, and Verner of Strasburg; all men of fame notorious, who were willing, as the emperor's vassals, to acquiesce servilely in his measures against the Pope. St. Gregory survived the apostasy of two men who had stood near him, the bishop of Porto and his chancellor Peter. All who, in consequence of their crimes and demerits could expect nothing from the Pope but deprivation, were naturally opposed to peace with him.

Turning to the scenes in England, we find the same part played by fitting actors. Who were the most effectual opponents of St. Anselm and the Pope in their glorious struggles to enforce religion, and to resist the influence of the court? His own suffragan bishops. Who assisted William Rufus and Henry I. in their measures of aggression on the discipline of the Church? Some English bishops. Who threw the chief obstacles

* Epist. cxxxviii.

† In Ps. lxi.

in the way of St. Edmund, when he sought to establish a better discipline of the clergy of his own province, by publishing his constitutions to correct abuses, which at that time were multiplied? English priests, part of his clergy, even some of the chapter of his own cathedral, who declared against him, accused him of scrupulosity, and tried to defeat his pious efforts. No one loved peace more than that holy primate, but he did not wish to purchase it by a cowardly and criminal compliance with evil. He chose rather to be persecuted, even by his friends, while no persecution could weaken his charity for all the world. In fine, who advised St. Thomas to resign rather than contend against Henry II. for the sacred cause of ecclesiastical liberty? His brother bishops, with the exception of two, Roger of Worcester, who observed that he would not belie his conscience by saying that the cure of souls might be resigned for the sake of pleasing any mortal man; and Henry of Winchester, who declared that the interests of religion were at stake, and would be lost if the primate set the example of resigning his dignity at the king's pleasure. The most monstrous abuses perpetrated by the crown were thus tamely regarded by all the bishops except three; and of these, he who opposed them is singled out for vengeance by his brother prelates. Well might a recent historian remark, what important lessons are to be derived from the records of these past events.

"What other bishops," says St. Thomas, "have you ever seen or read of in our whole island, excepting those of Canterbury, who have opposed themselves to princes, to defend the liberty of the Church, and the constitutions of our fathers, and through reverence of the holy see? In our age there has not been one, and if you open ancient histories, you will find none *." As for his own contemporaries, a correspondent assures him generally that "all labour under such imbecility, that they seem to fear God less than man †." "O with what subtlety," says St. Thomas, "do they argue in favour of their servitude, furnishing wings and suffrages to the king's excesses; for he would have rested unless they had acquiesced. When is constancy more necessary than amongst persecutors, when his intimates approve of his persecu-

* Epist. lxxxiv.

† Epist. x.

tions? How shall they obtain what is essential, if they always succumb? They must resist sometimes *." "They who minister arms to iniquity in England," says the archbishop, "are almost all men of the clerical order †." It was such as these, in fact, who inflamed the minds of many against him, who so spread the flame, that his glad honours changed to bitter woes.

Amongst his chief persecutors were Roger, archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, Roger of Worcester, and Joceline of Salisbury. These were the loudest in flattering the king, like slaves in a comedy, rendering themselves contemptible through the boldness of their adulation, waiting on the prince's nod. "These are they," said St. Thomas, "who give horns to the sinner, and instigate him when he does not sufficiently rage of himself, placing cushions under his elbows, and causing him to sleep, by the soft pillows which they place under the head, which vices have made languid ‡." The bishop of London, who found men to represent him to the Pope as a holy and calumniated man §, among other works of open malice after he was excommunicated, proposed to have the primacy transferred to his own see, while the archbishop of York, who when he was to go to Rome to justify himself, had provided that no one should proceed there to speak for St. Thomas without the king's license, which could not be obtained without giving bail not to appear against his persecutors ||, was to obtain permission to have his cross borne through the province of Canterbury ¶. The bishop of London used publicly to deride St. Thomas, saying, in allusion to his resisting the king's demand of forty-four thousand marks of silver for payments made to him before he was archbishop, that "the archbishop thought debts were remitted in promotion, like sins in baptism." With these bishops were united unworthy priests, some of whom, as Geoffrey Riddle and John of Oxford, gained the sad distinction of being notorious to foreign Churches and princes, for their triumphs over the Holy See by perjury **; while others, abusing the patronage of laics,

* Epist. xvii.

† Epist. cxiv.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xcvi.

** Epist. cxxxvii.

† Epist. ccxxvii.

§ Epist. cxx.

¶ Epist. clxxxix.

presumed to celebrate mass after they had been excommunicated or prohibited, and renounced their obedience to their spiritual superior, at the nod of the powerful*. To these must be added some few cardinals, "whose good works," as Adelaide, queen of France, said in her letter to the Pope, "had not yet been heard of in our land," and perhaps some legates, whose love was doubtful, to whom the archbishop writes, wishing them, in his first salutation, fortitude against princes†, men who, as he says, would rather be hammerers of priests, obeying princes, than an offence to kings by gaining divine grace; loving gifts more than justice, and, unless delegated, seeming more worthy of removal than of legation. What must have been the agony of those who witnessed the persecution of the Church by these unworthy members of the episcopacy or priesthood, when the bare traces it has left in history cannot be marked without leaving the reader disheartened and discouraged! "Your suffragans have proved renegades, and have forsaken you," writes Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "in your necessity; they have left nothing undone, by dissimulation and contumely contending with each other, that each might be thought to hate you most. The Roman Pontiff, and those who have with him the care of the Church, are astonished that the sheep should thus rise against their pastor, sons against their father, and direct swords so vehemently against themselves: for if they could effect what they desire, not even the name of liberty, nor any hope of liberty, would be left, but all ecclesiastical matters would be involved in such confusion, that the pristine institutions being removed, nothing could be well ordered, nothing accomplished‡."

"The nobles favour the Church," says St. Thomas, "but the clergy, by exhortations and instigations, cherish and promote the pertinacity of fury, some in England, rejoicing in the agonies of the Church, others making rapid journeys abroad to obtain friends elsewhere, and when they cannot find princes to be of the number, boasting of having found them in Rome§." To these priests of Baal and sons of false prophets, who were incensors of all discord from the beginning, St. Thomas

* Epist. cclxxxiii.

† Epist. xxi.

‡ Epist. ciii.

§ Epist. ccxxxix.

ascribed the conduct of the king in refusing to make peace with him. They told the king that it would be dishonourable to him not to confirm all his unjust donations to themselves, and not to insist on the archbishop's observance of "the customs," for there was nothing that they so much feared as the peace of the Church, lest their works and excesses should be corrected*.

"One thing might have been learned from the silence of others," as John of Salisbury says, "that they who were mute when the Church was under such afflictions, did not seem hastening to martyrdom." "Our bishops," says John of Salisbury to St. Thomas, "erect an altar of contradiction and scandal, endeavouring to elude the vigour of justice under pretext of law, and of the right of appeal. From what excommunicated person has the king ever withdrawn his society? Have not always bishops and priests stood against the Lord and against his Anointed? Yet I believe that there are some of the bishops who are with you, or rather with God and his Church, in vows and prayers firmly persevering, although they communicate in many things with the persecutors of the Church, thinking it better to remain usefully among enemies, than to be exiled uselessly to themselves. Some of the bishops, and the greatest part of the clergy, I doubt not, favour you; but, from necessity or pusillanimity, they dissemble: for who could think that all the stars should simultaneously fail†." Writing to the bishop of Exeter, he says: "I do not feel this solicitude through any sinister suspicion, but through charity for a friend in danger. For I know the perseverance of the persecutors, the pusillanimity of some bishops, the envy of others, and the dangers of false brethren, armed with authority and learning. We hear that the bishops of England meet often, to deliberate and decree; but what do they decree, excepting that they should fear immoderately? What do they decree, excepting that they would rather yield imprudently, than manfully repel an injury? What do they decree, excepting that iniquity should prevail, and that they should not announce the way of God to sinners? Can they be thought faithful, who expedite all ways of sinning for the king, and are studious that he should prosper in what he presumes

* Epist. cccxii.

† Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

against the justice of God? Truly, I can never esteem such counsellors faithful to their prince or to their friend*." "Your suffragans are prone to disobedience," he says to St. Thomas. "They are pastors feeding themselves, who, through love of rest, and luxury, and fear of temporal losses, decline from announcing his impiety to the impious; at every subversion of law, saying, Euge! euge! and getting over all obedience to whatever displeases them in Apostolic mandates, under pretence of an appeal†."

"Forbid it, Heaven!" cries the archbishop Theobald, writing to a priest, "that any one should dare to suspect that the most vile of things, money, can move your mind where souls are in danger, quod vilissima rerum, opes scilicet, animum vestrum moveant, ubi periculum imminet animarum‡." Yet the schemes of men who persecuted the Church would have but ill prospered, if such suspicions had been always groundless.

But let us hear what men of this class say for themselves, as Veith puts down the words of the enemies of Christ, in order to derive from them a lesson of eternal interest. In Germany, during the combat with the empire, their language was that of open defiance. Their letters to "Hildebrand, the false monk," required St. Gregory VII. "to descend from the chair of St. Peter, and to give place to one more worthy." They bound themselves by oath no longer to obey him. Some priests of the dioceses of Cambray and Noyon, in the year 1076, bitterly complained "of the usurpation of the Romans, who by the legate Hugo endeavoured to interrupt their marriages, and forbad them to possess more than one prebend; whilst, as they had families to provide for, they could scarcely subsist upon two or three." They cited passages from the Old Testament, and employed in their cause the history of Paphnutius, bishop of Nice, which, however, Bernold before had proved to be apocryphal. As creatures of the emperor Henry IV., they asserted with Sigebert that kings had no judge upon earth, and that they could not be excommunicated. With Benzo, bishop of Alba, in his panegyric of Henry IV. they loaded the character of St. Gregory VII. with outrage and ca-

* Epist. xxxvi.

† Epist. xxxvii.

‡ Epist. iv.

lunny; with cardinal Benzo they condemned "the heresies devised by Hildebrand," and cast into the flames the decrees of the last Popes *. In the contest between St. Thomas and Henry II. the creatures of the king were more measured and artful in their conduct. We may select instances from two sources, from letters addressed by them collectively to the Pope, and from their expressions separately conveyed. Nothing can be more insidious and plausible than the former. The letter of the English bishops in 1164 to Pope Alexander might be taken at first for having been written by the archbishop's friends. "The holy Church," they say, "in punishment of sins is placed between the anvil and the hammer; the see of Canterbury is like a ship without a pilot, its pastor being banished by the royal power, who, to their peril, as well as his own, has exposed himself, non considerans, quoniam blandiri oportet, non detrahare potestati; who, although we compassionate his sufferings, is ungrateful, and persecutes us who are in the same condemnation as himself." They then state that between him and the king, "*quædam controversia versabatur*," that he has offended the royal majesty, most rashly exposed the Church to persecution, and ungratefully requited the king for his past favours. Thence the necessity of their informing the Pope, that he may preserve the Church of Canterbury from shipwreck †. The letter of the clergy of England in 1167 to the Pope is a similar document. They inform his Holiness that his conduct has put the king into a glow of anger more than can be uttered; so that scarcely can they by their united supplications recall him to his usual gentleness and benignity towards him. They throw out hints that a schism may be the result. They say that the archbishop uses his power not to edification, but to the destruction of the Church, that he endeavours to involve others in the king's displeasure; imposing grievous burthens on others, while he will not move a finger nor bear any part on his own shoulders: he invites them to death and effusion of blood, while he declines the death with which no one threatens him, and has preserved his own blood, undiminished hitherto by a single drop. He frequently blames the customs of the kingdom, and represents them very

* Döllinger, Dr. Cox, tr. iii.

† Ep. S. Thom. xviii.

different from what they are. He censures themselves, and contradicts the canons, excommunicating them; and in fine he will not pay the king the debt he contracted when chancellor, which he ought not to withhold from a heathen or a publican *.

The clergy of the province of Canterbury addressed also their letter to the Pope, complaining of "the hard and irreverent conduct of the archbishop, in threatening the king with excommunication, and his kingdom with an interdict. If humility is to be thus remunerated, what will be left to enact against the contumacious? If the prompt devotion of obedience be thus esteemed, what punishment is reserved for obstinate perversity? The familiar friends and secret counsellors of the king too, some of the first nobles of the land, the prime ministers, are involved, without their being conscious of any fault. What can result from such preposterous and disordered proceedings, unless a rupture between the kingdom and the priesthood; and we, with the clergy committed to us, will either be driven into exile, or else, what heaven avert, renouncing fidelity to you, we must fall into the evil of schism and the abyss of disobedience. This is the most compendious way to the subversion of clergy and people. Therefore, that under your pontificate the Church may not be subverted, and our lord the king, and the people serving him, led to renounce their obedience, we have appealed to your sublimity †."

This is sufficiently bold; but yet it is from the private and unguarded communications of individuals that we derive clearest insight into their character. Thus they say "that it would have been altogether better for the archbishop to have yielded than that the Church should be troubled ‡." They say "that the king would perhaps renounce the Roman Church, if they were to obey the interdict §." They say, and those too who seem to be columns of the Church, "that the archbishop should refer the whole cause of the Church to the king's judgment ||." They say, "*Reus est mortis, qui contradicit Cæsari.*" They say, but with what conscience God sees and judges, "We do not deny that our lord the king

* S. Thom. Epist. cxvii.

† Epist. lxxii.

‡ Epist. cxiv.

§ Epist. cxv.

|| Epist. cclxxxiv.

may have sometimes sinned, but we confidently affirm and proclaim that he is always ready to satisfy the Lord." Thus, with a front harder than adamant, not blushing, as they say, confidently to proclaim the innocence of a man whose malice and iniquity the whole Christian world proclaims and detests *." When the archbishop refused to omit the *salvo honore Dei*, many stood round and pressed him to make that omission †. The bishops say, or perhaps, to speak more truly, the bishop of London says, "*Quoniam pax est*, and all cry out on the contrary, *Quia pax non est, sed amaritudo omnium amarissima* ‡." They say, and adds John of Salisbury, "I cannot sufficiently wonder how any priest could say so to a priest, that the archbishop should take example from the Hungarians and Sicilians, and tolerate those customs which exist also with them §." They say, "the archbishop ought to observe the royal customs, and that it ought to suffice to him to follow his predecessors; for we are not better than our fathers:" to whom he replies, "that none of his predecessors were required to give such a promise excepting blessed Anselm, who on that account was often banished; and that our fathers ought not to be followed in evil, who lamented having committed it, and were on that account holy because they lamented having sinned, and were unwilling that either their contemporaries or successors should imitate them; and that their faults are recorded in order that we should be warned against them, not that they should generate a necessity of imitation for their successors ||."

"The bishops," says John of Salisbury, "who ought to have guarded the king, reply to us in the words of Abner, '*Quis es qui clamas et inquietas regem?*' as if they wish to say, 'Permit us, in contempt of our duty, and for the persecution of the saints, to lull our king to sleep, in scorn of the divine law, that we may lead him to the sleep of death;' thus disobeying their commission, Argue, obsecra, increpa, opportune, importune ¶." In fine, others who undertook to chronicle events, like William of Newbury, although they do not proceed to such length as to intimate that the cause itself was doubtful,

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xli.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. xlii.

|| Epist. lxxx.

‡ Ep. S. Thom. clvi.

§ Epist. lviii.

¶ Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

would lead their readers to conclude that the archbishop's zeal was not *secundum scientiam*, since he ought to have dissembled, according to the text, *Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est* *."

As was natural, these surmises lost nothing by being repeated by writers who only judged at a distance from reports. Hence Cæsar of Heisterbach relates "that some said he was condemned as a traitor to the kingdom, and that even at Paris the question was agitated, some swearing that he was worthy of death †." He does not inform us who these were. In effect, from first to last, the system of his persecutors was to misrepresent every thing he said and did. "Some, whose malice is accustomed to devise what it knows not of the conscience of others, think that your conduct proceeds from pride and not from virtue; that you affect to preserve the ancient manners of the chancellor in this dignity also; that no one should dare to resist your power or your will." It is thus that Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, writes to St. Thomas, but he takes care to add, "that the sanctity of his intentions has at length been recognised by all ‡." Others asked, "Why did he fly? Why did he not lay down his life for the Church, if the customs were so execrable? Why did he consent to them at Clarendon §?" After his martyrdom, John of Salisbury disdained to defend his memory from such charges. "*Si quis autem,*" he says, "*hujus tanti martyris gloriam evacuari desiderat, quicumque sit ille, antequam ei credamus, aut majora aut saltem similia operetur: alioquin peccare creditur in Spiritum Sanctum, cujus operibus detrahere non veretur ||.*"

To the misrepresentations of the saint should be added the praises which his persecutors lavished on the king, and the excuses which they were every where discovering for his perversity. When such men as Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, could assure the king, in their letters, that on his safety depended the safety not alone of the whole island, but that also of all the surrounding nations ¶, we cannot be surprised at finding his praises paramount on the tongue of the bishop of London, and of those who were his professed apologists, who were

* Guil. Neub. lib. ii. c. 25.

† Epist. xxi.

‡ Epist. xciv.

† Lib. viii. 69.

§ Joan. Sar. lxiv.

¶ Epist. vi.

resolved to misrepresent the zeal of St. Thomas and the cause for which he suffered *. “May God deliver the king from their hands,” cries John of Salisbury; “for they are subverting him and inflaming him with their malice †.” “Quasi vulpes in deserto prophetæ tui, Israël. They are laying snares for those who have succeeded to the prophets, ingratiating themselves with the king, and sophistically abusing reason to obscure the cause, that they may conclude at last, *Reus est mortis; crucifige eum ‡.*” “All the world knows the impatience of the king, and yet they have the effrontery to assert that he is most gentle under the hand that corrects him, when he offends God; if, they add, he should ever offend; as if it were doubtful to them whether he has offended in attacking the liberty of the Church, preferring his ancestral perversities to the Gospel of Christ, in unjustly proscribing you, and, by a sentence not so much cruel as insane, compelling women, and children, and babes in the cradle, to wander, deprived of all means of subsistence, in exciting a schism, and reviving the tempests which assail the vessel of the Church, in which he does all he can that it may sink. What will they call crime when they boast of this as innocence §?” “It is believed,” says John of Salisbury, speaking of the archbishop’s martyrdom, “that some treacherous disciples and chief priests, more malicious than Annas and Caiaphas, were accessary to his death ||.” Be that as it may, it is certain that the language of this fraction of the clergy was not that of men who fully appreciated the enormity of such a crime. Let us hear how they speak of it, and first that bishop of Lisieux, of whom John of Salisbury said before, “One thing I know beyond a doubt, that if he comes to Rome, there is nothing that he will scruple to affirm, for I have known him, and experienced his deceits ¶.” In his letter to the Pope, entreating him to acquit the king from all blame in the event, this prelate uses these expressions: “Some of the archbishop’s enemies, provoked to anger and madness it is said by his harsh treatment, rushed upon him. The king, on hearing of it, showed himself more like his friend than his king, and indulged in such

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii.

† Epist. xli.

|| Epist. xciv.

‡ Epist. xxxix.

§ Epist. xli.

¶ Epist. xvii.

grief, that we, who at first were lamenting a priest, began now to despair for the safety of a king. He called the omnipotent God to witness that the act was committed without his knowledge or consent *."

Richard, abbot of Wally, and the other agents whom the king sent to Rome to avert the censures of the Pope, adopt the same style in the letters which they send to him, giving an account of their embassy. "On arriving at Rome, we found Richard Barre, who had been prudently and fervently labouring for your honour, but who was very sad because the Pope would not receive him, and scarcely would any cardinal hear a word from him. When the lord abbot of Wally and the archdeacon of Lisieux had at length obtained an audience, they had no sooner uttered your name as a most devout son of the Roman Church, than the whole court resounded with 'Sustinete, sustinete!' as if your name was abominable to them. We have acted as became us who are your debtors, supporting the honour of your person and endeavouring to ward off the evils which our enemies are preparing for us. May your sublimity long flourish. Be comforted in the Lord, and let your heart exult, since the present cloud will soon pass over to your glory †."

A few passages may suffice to convey an idea of the apostolic spirit, the mildness and the firmness which breathed in the epistles of the Pope and of the holy archbishop, in answer to this unhappy portion of the English clergy. "Many things are related of you," says Alexander III. to Gilbert, bishop of London, "which vehemently disturb us, and subvert altogether the opinion and hope which we entertained of your religion; for you ought not to neglect your office, and sacrifice ecclesiastical liberty, through the favour, or love, or fear of any one; but it became you, as an immoveable pillar of the Church, to oppose yourself constantly and manfully for justice, and to prefer the fear of God to all things: for it became you to be kindled with such fervour of charity, that against vices and the oppressions of the Church you ought not only to cry out, but to raise your voice like a trumpet, having before your eyes the prophecy, *Nisi annuntiaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam,*

* S. Thom. cccxvii.

† S. Thom. Ep. cccxxv.

sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram *.” To the archbishop of York he says, “The depression of the English Church and the diminution of its liberty by your king, whether proprio motu, or rather by the advice of others, has long afflicted our mind. Instead of correcting the evils committed by his ancestors, he adds prevarications to prevarications, makes and confirms iniquitous statutes under pretence of the royal dignity, by which the liberty of the Church perishes, and the statutes of apostolic men, as far as in him lies, are made void; and not content if this silence of the divine law should last only during his time, but he seeks to compel his kingdom to sit for ever without an ephod and without a superhumeral. For that purpose he caused these usurpations to be confirmed with an oath by you and your brother bishops, and judged as an enemy all who dissented from him. In process of time, the archbishop being exiled for fulfilling his duty, and requiring the usual assistance of the Roman Church, we sent some of our best brethren to the king, and we thought that his hardness would be broken by our humility and gentleness, and that it would be, as Solomon says, ‘*Patientia lenietur princeps, et lingua mollis frangit iram*:’ but it was otherwise, and our sufferance was deluded. In all this, though the vehemence of the king disturbs us, yet are we still more moved by your infirmity, and that of your brother bishops, who are, we grieve to say, *facti sicut arietes non habentes cornua, abiistis absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis*. If to excuse such prevarication, any one should object, that still more grievous and enormous things are perpetrated in other kingdoms, we can reply in truth, that hitherto we have found no kingdom to have shown such a contempt for the divine law as to require the sanction of such manifest enormities by the bishops; unless the example of schismatics should be alleged, who have evinced unheard-of pride after being cut off from the communion of the faithful. Therefore, since you have placed your bodies on the earth to make a way over you to him who passes, we cannot be silent any longer, lest we should be involved with you in the sentence of the day of judgment. Beware then, lest it

* S. Thom. Epist. lx.

may be said of you, *Quia tu scientiam repulisti, repellam te, ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi* *."

Then in a letter to the suffragans of Canterbury, he says, "When first our dear son king Henry proposed these things, you ought to have raised your eyes to heaven, and ascended for the house of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical dignity might not be shipwrecked, while you were looking on in silence. And truly, if any of you had shown a zeal for the pastoral care, you would have known how to eradicate vicious plants from the kingdom, and to insert seeds delightful to the Lord: but now, since the reverence of the temporal prince prevails in you over the fear of God, for a vile dish of potage, you have, like Esau, despised your birthright. Though you may have yielded at first to terror, ought you not after such a length of time, to have resumed the sacerdotal firmness, and sacerdotally protested against such enormities, in sorrow for your past transgression? But adding obstinacy to that detestable act, you have persisted in the observance of these usurpations, appearing to follow the king's will in the depression of the Church, and in proscribing the ecclesiastical laws. And we indeed have hitherto waited, hoping that the divine grace might visit the heart of the prince, by your office, or by his own inspiration, and make him a lover more of the supernal glory than of his own; for this seemed the better course, that asperity should be mollified by patience and gentleness: but he has changed nothing of his former severity; he shows no repentance, but perseveres immoveably in imposing the customs. Meanwhile you have refused all fraternal assistances to our persecuted brother, your archbishop, and have added grief to his wounds. Therefore, because the faults of secular men regard none more than tepid and neglectful prelates, who often nourish a great pestilence by omitting to apply the proper remedy, and since after long expecting it, we find that you evince no sorrow against yourselves, and no fervour against these iniquitous usurpations, we proceed to the sentence of your suspension †." Yet these letters were not executed, for St. Thomas, as he writes to the Pope, "feared lest the tender ears of a very powerful man might be ulcerated by them, so as to

* Epist. ccxciii.

† Ep. ccxciv.

injure the prospects of peace," and he therefore implores him to omit mention of the king's excesses, while censuring the prelates *.

The letters of the archbishop to the false brethren, who sided with his royal persecutor, evince the same union of firmness and benignity. That addressed to his suffragans in 1166 begins by wishing them so to pass through temporal goods, as not to lose those that are eternal. "My dearest brethren," he says, "wherefore do you not rise up with me against the malignant? Why do you not stand with me against the workers of iniquity? Know you not that God will scatter the bones of those who seek to please men? They will be confounded, since God despises them. Your discretion must be aware that an error which is not resisted is approved of; and that truth when not defended is oppressed †. I admonish, I entreat and implore you, brethren, not to allow schisms to separate us, nor deceptions to overshadow us; but let us have one heart and one mind, in the Lord, and let us hear him who says, '*Pro justitia agonizare, pro anima tua et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.*' Let us not forget that strict Judge, before whose tribunal placed truth alone will judge us, remote from all fear or confidence of human power ‡."

Nor was it only from the Pope and the archbishop, that these men received counsel. Holy and learned men in France wrote to them, and nothing can be more affecting than their remonstrances. Thus Evise, the abbot, and Richard, the prior of St. Victor, address a letter to Robert, bishop of Hereford, in which they remind him of his ancient reputation in the schools.

"Our Church," say they, "received great joy on your promotion, and we were filled with hope. All the scholars who were animated to the love of letters by the example of your labours and success, were gratified. But we, above all others, were glad; for we loved the Church of the English, with a certain especial affection, by the impulse of nature, over and above the love which we bear to all churches; and we had hoped that your example

* *Rer. Gal. Script. tom. xvi. p. 450, note.*

† *Epist. lv.*

‡ *Ep. lxx.*

would have greatly profited all its members ; but now we grieve beyond measure, because neither are our wishes fulfilled, nor our prayers heard. I wish that your ears were open to the words of the scholars, and that you might hear the sighs of the religious, that so your spirit might be elevated, which is said to be oppressed with the weight of riches, and to be weakened by the love of a mitre and by the affluence of delights. For, as they say, you are now comforted by those riches, which in the school formerly you used to call in familiar conversation, *canigenas*. Then you portrayed in words a true bishop, whom I wish you would exhibit in your life. Never then did you perform the office, '*vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi* *.'

" It is strange, if your ears do not tingle with the talk of the scholars, the detraction of your rivals, and the complaints of your friends. Against your father and consecrator, an exile for justice and the liberty of the Church, you have lately appealed with others, who seek the subversion of justice and their own elevation, and thus placing your portion with the impious, you have blackened your reputation. For did you not see the letter of appeal which the bishops transmitted to their archbishop ? Certainly if you did not, it was a folly, that we may speak charitably the truth, without offending you, to sign without examining a document concerning such a matter, which was to be sent to the Roman Church ; but if you did see them, with what conscience, with what front did you dare to assert, and, as you write, to proclaim with all confidence, what not only the neighbourhood, but almost the whole Latin world knew to be false ? For the manners of the king, to whom you bear such a testimony, are well known, so that when you proclaim such things, you must seek a stranger, but one from without the Latin orb. The Lord will judge these things ; and he that doeth them, and he that consenteth to them, will have the same punishment. Meanwhile, consider what opinion will be formed of such bishops, who patronize such injuries. In sincere charity we write this to you, sweet father, to remind you of your doctrine, of your office, of our desire, and of the divine judgment, that you may redeem your

* Hor. de Art. p. 304.

fame, and endeavour to restore the Church, which is falling under your hands *."

This letter was deeply conceived, as appears from what John of Salisbury writes to St. Thomas. "I have heard from those who say that they knew the bishop of Hereford intimately, that when he was in the schools, he was greedy of praise, and such a lover of glory, that he seemed to be a despiser of money. It is thought, therefore, that nothing is more likely to move him, than if the masters of the schools, and religious men, such as the prior of St. Victor, and others with whom he was familiar in France, should excite his indolence, by letters, and encourage him to prove himself such a bishop as he used to paint in the schools, and to redeem his fame by refraining from the vices which he used to blame in others. The same advice is given respecting the bishop of Worcester. Nevertheless, I do not hope much from either of them †."

A characteristic of this persecution, not peculiar to it in any particular instance, for it has always recurred, and it ever will recur at analogous epochs, was the hatred evinced by those who conducted it for Rome and the Holy See.

The spiritual persecution always revolves round the same thoughts. "If you study the new dogmatism," says a French historian, "which rises against the old Catholic wisdom, you will be astonished at its resemblance with that of Luther, which itself was but a revival of an old system, and you will be amazed to see in what a uniform circle of falsehood heresy is condemned by God to turn. It may boast of conceiving truth; it will bring forth only error, a deformed being, marked on the front with a character that declares it, at the first sight; one has already seen it in the world, passing and making a noise, and then falling back into nothing, whence God will permit it again to return, for He has said, 'There must be scandals †.'"

Only under one form it seems to have the privilege of an uninterrupted existence, more or less developed and organised, and that consists in jealousy and hatred against

* S. Thom. Epist. lxxi.

† Joan. Sar. xli.

‡ Audin, Hist. de Luther, i.

Rome, against the rock on which the Church is built, against the successor of St. Peter, and those who assist him in the government of the universal Church.

From this disease, the breasts of few kings have been exempt. Henry VIII. was not the singular isolated tyrant that some suppose. While he was rejecting the Pope's supremacy, Francis I. was endeavouring to induce Clement VII. to further some measure by threats. "The two powerful kings of France and England," he said, "might renounce their obedience to the Roman Church, and draw many others after them *." The witty satirist, who comprehended kings within his range, alludes to this fond aim of many, when he describes the facetious library in Paris, where among the titles of the books which seem the counterpart of all that could be met with at St. Victor's, his student finds one, "*De auferibilitate Papæ ab ecclesia.*"

Indeed it is obvious that while human nature is subjected to trial, this jealousy must exist in it. When Philippe Auguste found that the Pope persisted in requiring him to take back his lawful wife, and dismiss Agnes, he cried out, "Well, I will become an unbeliever. Saladin was happy, to have no Pope †." The same avowal was made by Frederic II., the same by Philippe-le-Bel, the same by other sovereigns, some of whom were permitted by God to realize for themselves the impious wish, and bequeath to their descendants a desolation that no tongue can adequately describe,

— "for art and eloquence,
And all the shows o' the world are frail and vain
To weep a loss that turns their light to shade."

But let us mark the uniformity even of the arts employed to further the unholy project. Pierre Flotte, the servile instrument, as chancellor, of the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel, when attacking the Pope's bull in 1302, began by asking, "if the French could, without cowardice, submit that their free and independent kingdom should be under the vassalage of the Pope;" thus confounding cunningly the moral and religious with the

* *Mém. de Martin du Bellay*, liv. iv.

† *Capefigue*, *Hist. de Phil. A.* ii. 151.

political dependence, which Boniface never desired; for on the contrary, as Becchetti remarks, he declared "that the government of the kingdom belonged to the king alone; that in that he had no superior, and consequently that he could not incur censures for what was governmental:" but the insinuation was no less efficacious by touching the feudal fibre, and awakening the contempt of the warrior against the priest. Then the comte d'Artois exclaimed, "that if the king were disposed to endure the Pope's enterprizes, the lords would not suffer them," which brutal flattery, under the form of independence, as Michelet observes, "was greatly applauded by the nobles *."

There was no novelty, therefore, in the conduct of Henry II. or in his bursts of indignant eloquence. But let us hear him. "Henry, king of England, to Reginald the schismatic of Cologne:—Since a long time I have desired to have a just occasion of receding from Pope Alexander, and from his perfidious cardinals, who presume to hold by the hand against me my betrayer, Thomas, lately archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, with the counsel of all my barons, and with the consent of my clergy, I am about to send to Rome some great men of my kingdom; namely, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, the archdeacon of Poitiers, John of Oxford, and Richard de Luci, who publicly and manifestly on my part, and on that of my whole kingdom, and of all the other territories which I possess, shall propose and denounce to the Pope Alexander, and his cardinals, that they shall no longer hold by the hand my betrayer, but that they must deliver me from him, that I may institute some one else, with the advice of the clergy of the church of Canterbury, and that they must declare null and void whatever Thomas does. Therefore we ask you, dearest friend, to send quickly to me brother Ernold or brother Rodulph, hospitalers, who on the emperor's part may give to my ambassadors a safe conduct, going and returning through his territories."

On receiving this letter, Reginald asked the emperor, what answer he ought to make to the king of England? and the emperor wrote back that he should consent to the will of the king, because the more solemnly these

* Hist. de France, iii. 70.

things were done, if Pope Alexander should consent, the greater will be the confusion of the pontiff*.

The king's letter to the Pope is short and insolent. "I have received your letters, which you directed to me, and having seen and understood them, I was greatly sorrowful and angry: but let your discretion know I am incredibly surprised that the court of Rome (it is always the same expression on such occasions,) should so manifestly work against me, and my honour, and my kingdom, for which I am responsible to no one, but to God alone. For you cherish and sustain the traitors who iniquitously and treacherously have acted towards me, as is known to the whole world. It is a thing unheard of, that the Roman court should defend traitors, and nominate those who are traitors to me, which treatment I have not deserved. I am exasperated to greater fury, because it not only defends my betrayers, but refuses to do me justice, which is granted to every wretch, and which many of the most insignificant clerks obtain, as I have seen with mine own eyes†."

His language was the same when he received the legate of the Holy See. After the interview, as they were departing, the king said aloud publicly, and for their hearing, "I wish that my eyes may never again see any cardinal," and so he dismissed them abruptly. Their horses consequently not having arrived to convey them back to their hotel, they were obliged to take whatever they could find by chance‡. Thus there were precedents in the English court to encourage the duke of Suffolk, under a later Henry, when he started from his seat, and, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence, "that never had they been merry in England since a cardinal came among them."

The solemn acts of Henry II. were as significant as his letters. By his edict, "if any one should be found bearing letters of the Pope, or of St. Thomas into England, he was to be judged a traitor to the king. If a bishop or abbot, or priest, or a layman, should obey the sentence of interdict, all his lands and possessions were forfeited to the king. All clergymen out of England, who had

* Epist. S. Thom. lxxv.

† Ep. lxxvi.

‡ Ep. cxv.

property in it, must return to it, on pain of forfeiture and perpetual banishment. An appeal to the Pope or to St. Thomas, or obedience to their decrees, is prohibited under the penalty of forfeiture of all property. All soldiers and freemen in England, with their servants and others, from the age of fifteen years, shall be obliged to swear that they will obey these royal mandates *."

On this occasion, the archbishop addressed a letter to the people of England, to expose the gravity of the oath required ; and at the same time he absolves those who should be compelled to take it against their wills, and shows that they cannot be bound by it, since to abjure the Pope is an act of disobedience equivalent to the crime of idolatry, as the prophet says, " Quasi peccatum hariolandi est repugnare, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle acquiescere †."

The noble bishop of Winchester, Henry, declared that he would never fail to obey the voice of the holy see. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery, until iniquity should pass ; as did also the bishops of Norwich and of Chester. Others, compelled by shame, were unwilling to consent to the king's edict ‡." " This is what they charge me with as my chief crime," says John of Salisbury, " that I encourage others to invoke the Roman name." If any one has the courage to do so, they impute it to me, and hence my persecution §."

Nevertheless there were not wanting among the clergy, men of the same desires with the king, even one of the legates being thought favourable to the king's views. " Many insult us," says St. Thomas, " observing that rightly the cardinal of St. Peter ad vincula is sent against us, in order that by his ministry Peter may be chained, though I trust his familiarity with the king will rather conduce to the glory of God than otherwise ||."

The policy of others seemed to consist in attempts to intimidate the ecclesiastical power by representing the

* Gerv. Dorober, ap. Twisden inter Angliæ Script. X. 1409.

† Ep. ccxlii.

§ Ep. xi.

‡ Ep. ccxl.

|| Ep. civ.

schism as imminent, and the nobles anxious for it, against whose indignation their own efforts to preserve unity would be ineffectual*. But however the wish of some might be father to the thought, as St. Thomas observes, the iniquity of such a measure was too clearly apparent for the king to proceed further with any chance of success. We should attend, therefore, now to the ordinary policy of those who persecute the Church in all ages, and observe the multiplied arts by which they endeavour to accomplish the same ends, in neutralizing the resistance of the Holy See, or deceiving the faithful as to its real intentions.

"Our persecutors are greedy, and fabricators of lies," says St. Thomas, to the cardinals of St. John and Paul, "in all affairs circumventing their friends, and all who trust them; and when they have deceived and injured them, they laugh, and, as if triumphing over enemies, they boast of their wisdom†." What could be more ingenious than the measure of appeal to Rome adopted by the bishops opposed to Rome, against the great defender of the privileges of Rome? Hence Philip, count of Flanders, writing to Pope Alexander says, "It is for you, holy Father, to consider diligently and investigate what is this appeal, which seems made for no other purpose, than that justice should be oppressed, and that the pressures of the Church should have no end‡."

So John of Salisbury says to St. Thomas. "Concerning the appeal of the bishops, I will say what I think; because they wish to be free, I fear lest their servitude should be perpetual. They treasure up riches; they give themselves up to various pleasures; and they would rather, under the yoke of their pleasing vices, be kept in their ancient servitude, and have their ears bored, in sign of perpetual bondage, professing to obey the servile manners of perverse customs, than escape to the liberty of the spirit. Under pretence of an appeal, all of them are ready to incur disobedience, expecting meanwhile either the death of the Lord Pope, which they greatly wish, or your own death, or some other accident which may be favourable to their malicious views §."

* Ep. cccxxviii.

† Ep. lxxxi.

‡ Ep. clxxxiii.

§ Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

St. Thomas also says to Pope Alexander, "The persecutors of the Church expect and desire, what the divine mercy, I trust, may not grant them, to see the grief of the faithful lamenting your death, that after your day they may subject the Church to slavery, without any one to contradict them; for it is with that view that they implore delays against God and justice*." Another artifice was the deputation of men to Rome like John of Oxford, who might triumph by perjury†.

Hence St. Thomas says to Pope Alexander, "If you are waiting until his ambassadors and the promoters of his malice shall have no lies and pretences, life will fail both you, and us, and them; and we shall all be called to render our account in the strict judgment, without acceptance of persons‡."

Thus the king, having obtained from Rome a suspension of the archbishop's power of excommunication until he had entered into favour with him, immediately triumphed, and adduced the apostolic letters in testimony of the archbishop's confusion, and to render him more odious, "He boasts," says St. Thomas, "that the term granted to him is until he shall wish to receive me into favour, and that, if he pleases, shall be put off till the Greek calends, that is, for ever§."

Similarly, writing to Pope Alexander, St. Thomas says, "The king despises your longanimity, not knowing or dissembling that your patience studies to lead him to repentance. He is deaf to prayers, boasting, to the ignominy of the Apostolic see, and in scorn of your blessed name, that you have indulged him with a privilege by which, as long as he likes, he will be safe against us and the church of Canterbury, though he may persecute us both more atrociously than ever; and, in order to make men believe more easily a thing false and incredible, he causes to be published through Germany, France, and England, the rescript of your letters of indulgence against us, I trust not against yourself. It is thus he rewards your benevolence||." Another stratagem consisted in keeping the Pope's letters carefully concealed. Thus a correspondent of St. Thomas says, "The letters of the Lord Pope ought to have been known in England long

* St. Thom. Ep. cxxxi.

† Ep. cxxxviii.

‡ Ep. ccxiii.

§ Ep. cxlix.

|| Ep. clx.

ago, but they have not been shown to any one, nor published any where. Of what use are they when thus kept secret, and while the evil work is pursued, as if they had never been sent * ?” Meanwhile the persecutors boast of being the Pope’s most familiar friends. “The men here,” says St. Thomas to Pope Alexander, “who minister arms to iniquity, are almost all clerics ; some of whom boast of your intimate friendship, and of the privilege which they have from the Apostolic See ; and they say that whatever they do they will be responsible to no one but to the Roman Pontiff †.” “They who have least deserved,” says John of Salisbury, “the favour of the Apostolic See, boast the loudest that they have gained it. They boast that they have obtained this and that : but I know that no wise man will believe them, especially in regard to things which would seem elicited against justice, unless they can produce authentic and original documents. One thing I know, and, whatever the world may say, I will assert it, indubitably and freely, that he who adheres to Christ will not have to repent in the end. The joy of the impious is momentary, and like a point, but the moth and worms soon destroy it ; while God will console his elect, and not suffer them to have a twofold tribulation ‡.” The persecutors of St. Thomas were repeatedly crying out that they had gained their cause at Rome. “Lo,” he says, “John of Oxford, and other nuncios of the king have just returned, exalting themselves above whatever is worshipped, and saying that they have obtained from the court of Rome all that they desired §.” And, again, on another occasion, he says to the Pope, “You have expressly forbidden them to do this ; and yet they boast, on the contrary, that they have obtained from you permission to do it ||.” His allusion to the boasts of John of Oxford is affecting. “What will be the end we know not ; but this we know, whether these things asserted be true or false, that we are profoundly grieved ; for all proceed as if they were true ; none obey us, neither bishops, nor abbots, nor any of the clergy, as if all were sure of our deposition ¶.” A letter from St. Thomas to an apostolic legate concludes with

* Ep. cclxiv.

† Joan. Sar. lxxxvii.

|| Ep. cclv.

‡ Ep. ccxxvii.

§ Ep. xcvi.

¶ Ep. xcvi.

these words: "Farewell, and God grant that you may not accept gifts which scarcely any one can avoid taking away with him *." One is almost tempted to regard such a sentence in the light of an unjust suspicion, until reading the letter of this very legate to the king, which proves that the advice was not uncalled for. Here is the reply of master Vivian to the serene king: "How much I have laboured for your honour, and what diligence I have employed, endeavouring to make your peace with the Church, God knows, and your prudence ought to have known. Therefore I am astonished that, after refusing to hear me for your honour and utility, you should wish to render me infamous by corrupting me with money; but, since I have begun with serving you, and that I am not accustomed easily to withdraw from my friends, I pray and advise you to return to your senses, and to confirm the petition of my lord of Canterbury †." St. Thomas relates, in another letter, that Vivian, detesting the king's duplicity and malice, sent him back the money ‡; which, from another epistle, we learn amounted to twenty marks §. Stephen, bishop of Meaux, in a letter to Pope Alexander, uses strong language to represent the danger arising from this stratagem of the persecutors. "With filial devotion we suppliantly implore you to use your accustomed circumspection, that while the arts and money of the English are employed to betray you, there may be no diminution of the papal constancy, but that you may continue to evince immovable perseverance ||." That even deadly arts were practised to win over some foreigners to procure his destruction, is intimated by St. Thomas. "The king," he says, "solicits the people of Milan, Cremona, and Parma, corrupting them with money to procure our destruction as we pass. In what have we ever injured the men of Pavia, or of other Italian cities, that they should procure our banishment? What wrong have we inflicted on the wise men of Bologna? Richard, the Syracusan, corrupted with the hope of gaining the see of Lincoln, assists our persecutors with money. Have they not led the Frangepani, and the Leonina family, with that of the Latroni, and other most powerful Romans, like a host,

* Ep. ccxxxiii. † Eph. ccxxxiv. ‡ Ep. ccxxxvii.

§ Ep. ccxxxix. || Ep. lxxviii.

not so much to bend as to break the Roman Church, promising the emperor's peace and plenty of money, provided the Pope would satisfy the will of the king of England in ejecting us? It is clear what preparations are made for our having a safe and pleasant journey. By the same arts of these procurers, for we do not believe that the name of the king should be involved in this suspicion, the utensils in the inns can be poisoned, and it is difficult to be secure from one who has power over a whole family*." But let us turn from the persecutors, and observe the noble and heroic conduct of the blessed men who, by their means, with patient magnanimity, went calmly and pauselessly on to the joys of eternal beatific rest.

CHAPTER IX.

THE heroism which we are now to witness is not the courage for which man so often has to rue his power misused; it is the heroism of patience and longsuffering, of generosity and gentleness: for such is that of the Holy See in presence of the persecutors whose acts we have been observing; and it is to the conduct of Rome, as to the head, that our attention should be first directed.

St. Gregory VII., so little influenced by ambition that he sought by flight to avoid the dignity of supreme Pontiff, commenced his proceedings against king Henry of Germany, in a spirit, not alone of mildness, but of personal friendship, complying even with the custom of having his election confirmed by him, though warning him against the consequences of such abuse. When the storm burst upon Henry from the Saxons, St. Gregory sent his legates, to express in unequivocal terms his wish that he should be retained upon the throne; and he prevented the princes from entering on a new election. When, afterwards, he subjected him to public penance,

* Epist. clxxxii.

in which there was nothing dishonourable, according to the usages of the times, other kings and emperors having willingly submitted to more severe conditions, there were no other means possible to prevent his deposition by the German princes. Intrepidity in purpose, but gentleness in execution, characterized the conduct of the Holy See from the beginning to the end of this great combat, which secured the purification and freedom of the Church, which was at length ratified in the ninth general council convened by Calixtus in Rome. Turning our regard to that side of the battle, of which England was the field, we find the same spirit actuating the Holy See. When, for the first time, one investigates, in the original sources, the history of this collision between the spiritual and temporal powers in the persons of Henry II. and St. Thomas, it is impossible not to feel at the commencement, an impression of painful astonishment at the forbearance evinced by the Holy See, which seemed to indulge at times its pacific conciliatory spirit to an excess, so as to sacrifice the interests of the Church and of its defenders, rather than adopt against its enemies those measures which justice demanded. "*Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri,*" cries St. Thomas to Pope Alexander, "for there is no one, after God, who fighteth for us; but only thou with the faithful. Have mercy on us, I say again, that God may have mercy on thee in the strict judgment, when thou wilt have to render an account of thy stewardship. There is no one to whom we can fly for refuge, after God, unless to thee, since even those who, by the instinct of piety and justice, and even on account of reverence for the holy Roman Church, ought to stand with us and fight for us, oppose themselves to us, for the sake of the favour of men *." Yes, strange as it may sound to some, instead of tyrannically imposing burdens upon kings, the Holy See seems at moments to have passed the limits, beyond which patience and forbearance were commendable. The charge against which it is to be defended, is not that of having been despotic and arrogant, and prone to usurpations, but precisely the contrary, that of having incurred the guilt which lies in level opposition with it; that of having waited too long, of having endured too much, of having

* Epist. cxxi.

yielded too far, in accordance with the desires of those who persecuted the faithful. Confining our observation to the instance of this particular struggle, let us hear what was thought and said at the time, respecting the conduct of the Apostolic See. Lewis, king of France, in a letter to the Pope, after observing with what reverence St. Thomas deserves to be regarded, and how greatly he has been astonished at recent events, which seem to indicate that the solicitude of the Pope towards the archbishop has been relaxed, says, "You should know that many are scandalized, and do not hesitate to blame your paternity. We ourselves are indeed surprised and indignant, and we shall be still more surprised, unless your integrity should show that the reports abroad are false. It would be expedient that no time should be lost in taking fresh counsel respecting these things. It would appear like presumption in me to speak more on the subject, and what I have said will suffice to your wisdom *." The pope, accordingly, writes to the legates, William and Odo: "Saying that, on account of these reports, which seem injurious to his reputation, he commands them to address letters of consolation to the archbishop, to remove from his mind all bitterness and suspicion, and to assure him that he will stand by him and endeavour to procure his peace with the king: he tells them that the public opinion, the common voice of all men, condemns their backwardness as well as his own, and he charges them to silence detraction by a conduct, circumspect, mature, and provident †." Philip, count of Flanders, also writes to the Pope, thanking him for his benevolent expressions to the archbishop, and assuring him, that if he did not love and cherish him, it would be to himself, and to the universal world, a great scandal and a pernicious example, and that the Pontiff's own character would suffer in the estimation of men ‡." "Good God!" exclaims St. Thomas, "what vigour will there be in the members, if the strength of the head should fail? It is already cried in the streets, and proclaimed through towns and villages, that the powerful need not fear justice at Rome §." "Vigorous measures, with regard to the affairs of England," as the archbishop

* S. Thom. Epist. c.

† Epist. lxxxi.

‡ Epist. cvi.

§ Epist. cxlv.

of Sens assured the Pope, "could alone re-establish the fame of the Roman Church amongst the French clergy, and throughout the whole West; and this advice he gives, not through any rancour of mind against the king, with whom he is now reconciled, but, impelled by what he sees, and hears, and handles, for the sake of truth and justice, for the honour of the Church, and by reason of the faith which he owes to the Apostolic See*." The testimony of the foreign bishops on this point is indeed most frankly given. "Scandals are multiplied in our time," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, to Pope Alexander, "but woe to him by whom the scandal cometh; for if he be worthy of being cast into the sea, who scandalizes one of the little ones of Christ, what judgment does he deserve who fills the whole Church of God with scandal, and strikes the hearts of the saints, so as, if possible, to move even the elect from devotion to the Apostolic See? Truly, last year, the Church was most grievously scandalized, when those whom my lord of Canterbury had excommunicated were absolved, though persisting in their wickedness, without satisfaction, or the shadow of satisfaction; and, what cannot be said without grief and confusion, while still retaining the possessions of the Churches, and boasting that they are safe in their iniquity, under the authority, not only of the king, but of the Roman Church.

"Yet this scandal, great as it was, was but a jest, if compared with that arising from the letters lately read, by which the archbishop, a man eminent for erudition and virtue, but still more for his brave defence of the cause of God, is deprived of his power until he returns into favour with the king, with whom he cannot be in favour unless he is ungrateful to God, faithless to the Apostolic See, and pernicious to the whole Church. The most Christian king is confused, and the Gallican Church is filled with stupor, that the persecutor should have so far prevailed with you. May it please you, therefore, to console my lord of Canterbury, and deliver the Gallican Church from such a scandal, by binding, not the innocent, but the impious; for it is to be feared lest other princes should follow this example, to the destruction of the Church †." Maurice, bishop of Paris, and Baldwin,

* Epist. clxi.

† Epist. cxxxix.

bishop of Noyon, wrote to him to the same effect. "My lord of Canterbury returns with the affair unfinished; the king of France, and our whole kingdom suffering with him in his grief, and all men wondering that the Apostolic See should be circumvented in such a manifest cause. For who will ever be condemned, if for such an evident injury of Christ and the Church, the king of England escapes judgment? What innocence will be delivered from the hand of the calumniator, if my lord of Canterbury and his fellow-exiles be not assisted? It was hoped by all men that your prudence could not be any longer deceived, or your sanctity mocked; but the misery of the Church and the infinite affliction of the innocent, which we behold, oblige us to raise our voices. The height of our desire is to see you remove, as quickly as possible, such a scandal from the whole Gallican Church, by making the king of England content with such things as belong to a Christian king*." Benedict of Petersborough, ascribes the reconciliation of the king with St. Thomas to the personal exertions of the archbishop of Sens, who went," he says, "to Rome, and obtained consent from the Apostolic See, that without any appeal the English king should be subject to anathema, unless he gave peace to the Church †."

"I do not presume," says John of Salisbury, writing to the Pope, "to raise my voice against Heaven. I confess, it is true, that the Roman Pontiff can do all things, that is, understanding all things which belong, *jure divino*, to the ecclesiastical power; he can make new and abrogate ancient laws; but he cannot change things which have a perpetual authority from the Word of God. I fear not to say that Peter himself could not absolve any one persevering in his wickedness; nor did he receive the keys to open to the impenitent ‡." "When Peter's power is thus bounded," he says to him again, "I cannot believe that his successor can do more. I confess that much is to be conceded to conciliate the king as a most glorious prince; but only so far as not to offend God; for otherwise it would be a kind of idolatry to prefer the creature to the Creator, under pretence of caution and utility; for evil is not to be committed that good may come §.

* Epist. cclvi.

† Rer. Gallic. Script. xiii. 144.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xlvii.

§ Epist. lx.

"I cannot dissemble, being the servant of your sanctity," says Lombard, subdeacon of the Roman Church, to the Pope, "the things which are publicly spoken of in derogation of your name, and to the detriment of the whole Church. The return of John of Oxford, boasting of your favour, and insolently proclaiming that he was safe, by your privilege, against the archbishop and every bishop, and that he has obtained for the king what no king has yet obtained . . . this gives occasion of maligning you and the Church of God, and strengthens those whom your indulgence has not changed, though your authority might have repressed them *.

The remonstrances of St. Thomas are affecting and dignified. "You admonish us," he says to the Pope, "meanwhile, to have patience. You do not consider, Father, how expensive to the Church is this word 'meanwhile,' interim, and how much it derogates from your reputation. Meanwhile he keeps the bishoprics and abbeys vacant, and will suffer no one to be ordained to them, that he may keep the revenues. Meanwhile he rages against all the parish churches and venerable places, and the whole clergy with incredible fury. Meanwhile he and the other persecutors do what they like. Meanwhile, who is to take care of the sheep of Christ? Who is to save them from the wolves? Have you not disarmed and silenced every pastor? What bishop is not suspended in our suspension †?" In a letter to the college of cardinals, he uses still stronger language: "Say, Holy Fathers, with what conscience do you dissemble the injury committed against Christ in me; yea, in you, who exercise the vicariat of Christ on earth? Do you pretend not to know that the king of England subverts the liberty of the Church, and lays hands on the anointed of the Lord every where, incarcerating some priests, killing others, putting out the eyes of others, compelling others to have recourse to the duel, others to the ordeal of fire and water; requiring bishops to disobey their metropolitan, priests their bishops, and not to consider themselves excommunicated when they are duly so? What is worse, he takes all liberty from the Church, like your great schismatical oppressor, Frederic. If these things he done by our king with impunity, what will be done by his

* S. Thos. Epist. xcvi.

† Epist. cxxiv.

heirs? If the fear of God be before your eyes, you cannot suffer these things to pass thus. Trust not in princes nor in the sons of men, in whom is no salvation. Treasure not up for yourselves wrath against the day of wrath, but lay up treasure in heaven, by resisting the oppressors, and by assisting the oppressed; for otherwise God will judge between you and me and these exiles, these orphans, widows, and babes in their cradles, and all these priests and laymen. Be persuaded by those who are faithful to you; resume your strength, gird on the sword of the Word of God most powerful; draw the sword of blessed Peter; vindicate the injuries of Christ. Do judgment and justice without delay to every one who suffers injury. This is the royal way. The way which leads to life. Walk in it; and follow the footsteps of Christ and his Apostles, whose vicars you are. Not by simulation, not by ingenuity, is the Church to be governed, but by justice and truth, which will free you from all peril; *Non simulatione, non ingenio regenda est ecclesia; sed justitia et veritate.* Do this and you will have God for your defender, and you need not fear then what man can do unto you*." In a letter to cardinal Albert, he says: "Our miserable fellow-exiles seem out of favour with you, because they are weak and unwilling to depart from the justice of God; while men stained with sacrilege and homicide, and impenitent plunderers, who could not be loosed even by Peter himself, are absolved†."

These seem to be painful testimonies, on first hearing them, and we may close them by the letter of St. Thomas to the Pope in 1170, which begins thus: "God has looked upon his Church with an eye of pity, and at length has changed its sadness into joy. Nor can there be a doubt, Father, but that, if you had believed us from the first, speaking the truth to you, the horns with which these men have wounded the Church, would have been bent backwards. From the moment that the king discovered that you were determined not to spare him any more than Frederic, he made peace with us to the honour of God, and, as we hope, to the great utility of the Church‡." Yet so far removed was the archbishop from any desire of appearing to enjoy a personal triumph,

• Epist. cxlv.

† Epist. cclvii.

‡ Epist. cclxxxiii.

that he writes again to implore the Pope, in the interests of the newly cemented peace, to permit him to have mercy on the bishops of London and Salisbury, though he admits that the former was the standard-bearer of the whole sedition, not to call it schism*. Throughout this distressing crisis of ecclesiastical affairs, it appears that Pope Alexander felt conscious that he might have erred on the side of too much patience. Thus, writing to king Henry, he says: "We believe it has not escaped the memory of your royal sublimity, how much we have derogated, *utinam non contra justitiam*, from our venerable brother, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, in condescension to you†." Again, in another letter to the king, he says: "Since, hitherto, we know not by what judgment of God we have made no proficiency in these affairs, we are filled with affliction for you and for the holy Church, which is daily more and more scandalised, so that by great princes, and nearly by the whole Church, we are blamed for our tepidity and neglect of the duty of our office, insomuch that we have contracted no slight disgrace in the estimation of many who insult over us, as having abused patience‡." Nevertheless, it is clear, that the greatest prudence and moderation were required in the alarming state of the world, when this collision first took place; for schism was then seated on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople; the Christians of the East were demanding new crusades in their defence; an anti-pope possessed Rome, being confirmed by Frederic I., who raged like Alaric or Attila, having on his side the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: such were the difficulties in which Pope Alexander was engaged; and, indeed, the injustice of the accusations against him seems sufficiently proved by the affecting letter, in which he explains to St. Thomas the reasons and motives which have actuated him throughout the contest.

"Among the multiplied cares, which, from the malice of the times, disturb our mind," it is thus the Pontiff addresses him, "your fatigues, encountered for defending the ecclesiastical liberty, have not a little caused our perturbation, while we desired to be at your side, and our wishes were retarded by various obstacles; for where

* Epist. ccxcvii.

† Epist. cli.

‡ Epist. cxcviii.

many formidable things press on, the mind cannot easily determine to what part it ought rather to incline, especially if it be not given to it to understand when it will gain more advantage, and where escape a greater danger. For if sailors are often so much in doubt in the diversity of winds, that they cannot agree amongst themselves whether they ought to proceed to the proposed point or return to the port which they have left, it ought not to seem worthy of surprise or censure, if in this great and wide sea, where monstrous reptiles without number impede our course, and where the dangers to be feared are not so much of bodies and of material merchandize, as of souls and of spiritual virtues, he who rules the ship of the Church cannot easily discover to what part he should direct his assent, when different councils arise from the diversity of wills. While a matter appears in one light to him who promotes a single cause, it appears in another to him who ought to provide and to consult for the whole in common. Therefore, dearest brother, if we seem to have acted more remissly in your cause, and in that of the English Church, and not to have answered your petitions according to your will, that did not proceed from our not believing your cause and that of the English Church to be common with our own, or that we wished in any respect to be wanting to you, but from our believing that we ought to use patience, in order that we might be able to overcome evil by good. For we feared, if there had been a greater division in the Church, that it would have been imputed to our severity; but now that we have lost all hope of bringing to compunction the oppressors of the Church, who are only dragging after them their sins like a long chain, we proceed to pass the canonical sentence against the bishops, incentors of this malice, who have sworn to preserve the iniquitous customs, and whom we therefore suspend from the episcopal dignity *."

This pacific exercise of the supreme authority is so sublime a characteristic of the Holy See, that I cannot pass on without referring to other instances from the history of the ages of faith, to show how faithfully the successors of St. Peter, in the exercise of their divine vicariat, adhered to the example of the Lamb of God.

* Epist. ccxcii.

Much is often said respecting the policy of the Holy See ; but it would be well if all who seek to learn in what it consisted, would bear in mind, that its aim was ever in accordance with that desire which the Church expresses in her collect on Holy Saturday, when she prays that God, having regard to the wonderful sacrament of His whole Church, may accomplish the work of human salvation in a more tranquil manner, by the effect of His perpetual Providence.

For the guidance, indeed, of all ecclesiastical authority, the rule in this respect was the same. "*Sanctorum clamat autoritas,*" says Peter of Blois, "*securius nobis esse si propter misericordiæ humanitatem, quam si propter districtiorem justitiam judicemur *.*" "In judgments," he says to a bishop, "never be moved by rumours or suspicions. Our Lord did not condemn Judas, whom he knew to be a traitor, because he had not been convicted. He did not destroy Sodom until He descended and saw whether they were guilty. From an obligation annexed to your office, you must be more patient, more moderate, more fervent than others †." St. Bonaventura finds an occasion to instil this duty while treating on the six wings of the seraph ; for after showing that the first wing of the ecclesiastical seraph is the zeal of justice, and the second piety or fraternal compassion ; he shows that the third wing is patience and constant longanimity ; "Patience is necessary to superiors, first, because they are unavoidably drawn into various affairs and solitudes ; secondly, on account of the slow progress of those for whom they labour ; for they sow much, and see but little fruit ; what they personally command and ordain is negligently fulfilled, and they often see latent evil creep in under semblance of good, when they dare not reprove the evil because of the superficial good, though eventually the real good is diminished, and the manifest evil increased ; but as the rude in religion, who discern not internal things, defend what passes with great zeal, the spiritual prelate sees, without being able to resist the danger, and so wonderfully exercises himself in patience. Thirdly, patience is necessary, because of the ingratitude of those for whom he labours, whom he can never satisfy ; for they will misinterpret all he does,

* Epist. L.

† Pet. Bles. de Institut. Episcopi.

and think that he might do better ; and they will oppose him to his face, and write letters, and excite others. Therefore, he needs a triple shield of patience. First, a modest and benign manner in answering them, unlike him of whom we read, *Ipse est filius Belial, ita ut nemo possit ei loqui* *. Secondly, a pacific and loving state of mind, which prevents him from wishing to remove them from him, for he should be the more inclined to retain them in order to exercise himself in patience, that he may be a son of the Most High ; for, as it is his office to teach virtue, if he remove the vicious whom will he teach ? If a physician avoid the sick, whom will he cure ? Thirdly, a firm resolution not to relax in his labours, on account of such obstacles, but to proceed with perseverance, looking only to the future recompense †.”

Innumerable examples might be adduced to illustrate the operation of these principles. Let us observe a few as they may occur.

“ We do not wish,” say the capitularies of Rodulf, “ to bind by oath those who are to be excommunicated for refusing to pay tithes, lest there should be danger of their committing perjury ‡.”

Wazo, a holy bishop of Liege, whose life was often in danger from the violence of the unjust men whom he resisted §, replied as follows to the bishop of Chalons, who inquired from him how he ought to act towards certain Manichæan heretics in his diocese. “ Imitating the Saviour, who was meek and humble of heart, we must tolerate such men ; for, as blessed Gregory says, in vain would Abel have obtained innocence, if Cain had not shown malice ; and the grapes, unless bruised, yield no wine. That we may have a prompt solution of this case, let us only hear the parable of the sower in the Gospel ; for the servants who sought to root up the weeds, are the preachers, who, while they desire the good to be separated from the evil in the Church, seek to root up weeds with the wheat ; but our Lord’s answer shows what

* 1 Reg. xxi.

† S. Bonavent. de Sex Alis Seraph. c. 5.

‡ Capit. Rodulfi, c. xxi. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. ii.

§ Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv. 885.

patience must belong to preachers ; especially as what is weed to-day may be wheat to-morrow. Your ardent zeal for souls, deceived by diabolic fraud, would purge the ground before the time ; but we rather must obey the divine sentence, lest while we think we execute justice, we may be impious offenders against Him who desires not the death of a sinner, but who knows how, by patience and longanimity, to lead sinners to repentance. *Cesset ergo judicium pulveris, audita sententia condemnatoris* ; nor let us seek by the sword of temporal power to take from life those whom God, our common Creator and Redeemer, knows how to spare. We must so act the part of sowers, as to tremble for ourselves, and hope for all others ; for those who now oppose us in the way of the Lord may become superior to ourselves in the celestial country, as Saul, from being a persecutor, was made an apostle. We that are bishops receive in ordination an unction, not a sword ; therefore we are not to kill but to make alive, and, in this particular case, all that we have to do is to command the faithful to refrain from associating with the infected *."

The Inquisition itself, though, in Spain, strictly a royal tribunal, was directed by the same rule in the exercise of its power ; for the priesthood refused to take part in its judgments, until the crown granted to it the grand prerogative of mercy ; so that it bore on its banners a motto necessarily unknown to all the tribunals of the world : "*Misericordia et justitia*†."

We should observe, too, how well the guides of the middle ages could distinguish the guilt of certain sophisms, in regard to a co-operation between the clergy and the state in the infliction of punishment, which are often adduced against them, with a view to intimate that the patience of the ecclesiastical authority was not sincere. That these sophisms were not allowed to pass current however, appears from the words of Peter of Blois, who says, "It excites the anger of heaven, and is a crime worthy of eternal damnation, when priests, although they do not pronounce judgment of blood, yet treat on it, disputing for and against it, and think that they are

* *Gesta Episcopi Leodiensium*, ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* tom. iv. 901.

† De Maistre, *Let. sur l'Inquisit.*

blameless, because though they decree death or mutilation, they absent themselves from the pronouncement and execution of the sentence. But what is more pernicious than such dissimulation? Is it lawful to discuss and determine what cannot lawfully be pronounced. Saul thus palliated his malice against David by saying, *Non sit manus mea in eum, sed sit super eum manus Philistinorum*. This dissimulation only rendered him more damnable before God. There is an express example of the same in that consistory in which Christ was condemned to die, when the Pharisees and Scribes said, *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam*; though, by their cries, they had dictated sentence of crucifixion. You are a prelate of souls not of bodies. Unless you are associated with Pilate, you will not have to render an account to Cæsar, but to Christ."

But it was, above all, in regard to the authority of the Holy See that the rule was most strictly laid down and observed, as innumerable monuments can bear witness. St. Leo supposes "that the prince of the Apostles was permitted to fall, expressly in order that he might be the more indulgent to others who are fallen." Even when the strongest censures were required, the Holy See always expressed itself in a pacific, gentle tone, repeating these formulas, "we ought to be more ready to pronounce benediction than commination; we ask and conjure you to do this mercifully and benignly." What sweetness of divine love breathes in the epistles of the Roman pontiffs to the Greek emperor, expressing their desire of peace and union between the Latins and Greeks*. What disinterested solicitude did not the Holy See evince in bearing with the tyranny of persecutors; as when Alexander III. writes in these terms to Louis, king of France, explaining the cause of his delay in the affairs of St. Thomas: "If," he says, "we have seemed to favour the will of the English king, we have only acted as skilful physicians, who grant every thing to a patient, of whose recovery they despair, making experiments to see if any thing can produce a change; whereas, to one whom they think they can cure, they flatly refuse every thing hurtful from the first. Therefore, since it is the custom of the Roman Church rather to incur much loss and damage by delay

* Ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* tom. vii.

and waiting, than by precipitation to give offence, your serenity ought not to be surprised if we have borne with that king so long, hoping, by the sweetness of benignity and gentleness, to recal him from his projects, and to mollify his hardness *."

The Popes, too, invariably prescribe to the episcopacy the observance of their own rule; for such were the counsels always given to it by those who, as St. Thomas says, "have received from God authority to dispense justice and the will of showing mercy †." Thus, to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, Alexander III. replied in these terms respecting certain heretics: "The prudence of your discretion ought to know that it is a less evil to absolve the guilty, who ought to be condemned, than to condemn the innocent by ecclesiastical severity; that it is better that ecclesiastical men should be more indulgent than is proper, than that they should exceed moderation in correcting vices, and appear to be severe; the Scripture saying, *Noli nimium esse justus*; and elsewhere, *qui multum emungit, elicit sanguinem ‡*."

The same archbishop having unjustly deprived Huldevin, one of the clergy of Rheims, of a certain benefice, the letter addressed to him by Pope Alexander furnishes an instance of the manner in which the Holy See always wishes to accomplish its object by the way of persuasion, rather than by that of authority; for thus he writes to him: "We ask your fraternity, by apostolic letters, we advise and exhort you, as what becomes you more than following the suggestions of others, or the impulse of your own mind, to restore the said benefice without difficulty and in peace, laying aside all rancour, and, for reverence of blessed Peter and of us, and in consideration of the devotion which Huldevin has shown towards you; so that he may rejoice to have obtained this rather by our prayers than by our mandate §."

The same delicate solicitude appears in another of his letters to the same prelate, in which, after desiring him to reverse what he had ordained respecting the place of a chanter of Douay in the choir of the church of Arras, he concludes, "We would rather that this should be done by your fraternity; so that what was formerly done

* Epist. S. Thom. cxliii.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 683.

† Epist. clxxi.

§ Ap. id. ii. 774.

by you, should now, by your authority, be restored to its pristine state, than that we should use our authority, as we may by rights, in this affair*."

Even the ill-timed remonstrances of this prelate are remarkable for the beautiful expressions used to signify the custom of the Holy See; for, in his letter to the cardinals, asking permission for Drogo to leave his cloister and accept a secular office, he says, "If the divine mercy hath placed you in the highest authority, He sought that you should be like himself, who declares his love for men, and received this testimony from his servant: *Tu autem, Domine Sabahot, omnia cum tranquillitate judicas, et cum magna reverentia disponis nos.* If the divine dignity condescended to your abjection, if the eternal majesty hath exhibited the gift of love, and tranquillity, and reverence to the servile race of men, what ought man to give to man, his fellow-servant, under the empire of his Creator †."

Even in the choice of instruments, to further the pacific conciliatory views of the Holy See, one can trace the spirit which ever seeks to avoid scandal and the publicity of faults. How beautiful is the illustration of this fact furnished by the few simple words which conclude the report made to Pope Alexander III. by Simon and Engelbert, relative to the monks who had been commissioned by him to present his letter to king Henry, enjoining on him to make peace with St. Thomas, for it ends thus: "And because it is not the custom of the brethren of Grandmont to write to any one, we have written this to you to express the conscience and desire of brother Bernard, who was employed in this commission ‡." Thus the agents of the Holy See were not men to mar the projects of pontifical solicitude, by recklessly or maliciously divulging circumstances which could widen breaches, or cut off an honourable retreat to a defeated adversary. The Popes seemed always intent on securing a golden bridge for all whom they could induce to retrace their steps and abandon measures of error or persecution; it was not only commands, admonitions, and counsels that they gave; they offered their treasures; they gave their tears; they would, if occasion required it, have given

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 729.

† Ap. id. ii. 789.

‡ St. Thom. Ep. clix.

their blood. But it is to these letters we should refer for proof of their unwillingness to use authority when they could prevail by love. One may repair to the papal archives, which contain them, as to a sanctuary, which cannot be violated by human passions, or as to a hermit in the wilderness, according to the suggestion of the poet, when he says :—

—————“ I’ll find out a hermit

That dwells within the earth, or hollow tree,

A great way hence; there I shall be secure

And learn to pray, for I want charity.”

He might have learned to pray from a bare perusal of the apostolic letters; he might have learned from them, without flying to the woods, that security of a firm conscience, against which nothing can ever prevail; he might have learned patience, long-suffering, and to taste what they proclaim with such a deep conviction of its power, the sweetness of an ineffable love. Let us take, for instance, the letter of Pope Adrian to Erasmus, in which, after calling on him to write in defence of truth, he proceeds thus: “ I cannot express to you with what a flood of joy my heart would be inundated, if, owing to your assistance, those who have been corrupted by the poison of heresy were to return to the way of truth, without waiting till the rod of the canons and of the imperial decrees should strike them. You can say whether rigorous measures are accordant with my disposition; you, with whom I have been associated amidst such pleasures in our sweet solitude of Louvain *.”

Pope Silvester, writing to the empress Adelaide, after remarking the decree of the Nicene synod, forbidding any one to be received who incurred excommunication, observes, “ That great moderation must be used with regard to the treatment of souls, and that no one is to be too hastily removed from the body and blood of the Son of God, by which mystery he lives with true life, and being justly deprived of which he living dies. Therefore,” he adds, “ we deem it right that this military man should be first admonished, in order that he may perhaps return to himself and satisfy your reverence †.”

But let us refer again to the history of St. Thomas,

* Epist. Eras. 639.

† Epist. Gerberti.

for instances of the pacific gentleness of Rome. To the archbishop, Pope Alexander writes in these terms, "We hope to mitigate the mind of our dear son, the illustrious king, and induce him to be reconciled to you. Therefore we entreat and advise your prudence to bear with him patiently, until we can see the end of this affair, and not to take any step which may cause him displeasure; but if he will not acquiesce after the intervention of our nuncios, and if he cannot be otherwise recalled, you shall have full authority to exercise your office *."

Then, in another letter to the king, he says, "Although filial devotion towards us, and your mother the Holy Church, seems to have cooled in you, yet we have not ceased to regard you, and the kingdom committed to you, with paternal affection. Your serenity, therefore, considering that the blows of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy, should carefully observe that the customs of which you require the observance are inconsistent with the laws of the Church, and that if you pervert them, and usurp the things which are Christ's, you will doubtless in the last judgment be called to an account; but that our admonitions may not be tedious, remember that a father corrects the son whom he loves, and that it is in consequence of our ardent love for your person, and of our gratitude for your past acts of sincere devotion, that we intimate this to your excellence †." In his letter to the prior Simon, and to Bernard de Corilo, whom he charges with the delivery of his letter of admonition to the king, he says, "That they should add their own remonstrances in a spirit of fortitude and lenity ‡;" and he expressly makes choice of them, as being men for whom the king entertains a peculiar respect. Writing to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "We have borne long with the king, as you have known, in patience, as it became us, and desiring to conquer him by humility; hoping, in the mercy of Christ, that He in whose hand are the hearts of kings, would mitigate his mind, and incline his will to do what is pleasing in his sight §." In fine, to the archbishop of Rouen he expresses his constant desire to concede every thing that he can to the king of England with a placid countenance,

* Ep. S. Thom. xxxix.

† Ep. clv.

‡ Ep. xl.

§ Ep. cc.

as far as will be consistent with justice, and his duty to God *."

Assuredly, the observers of that time might well be astonished at such invincible patience, and might even be pardoned for recalling with the archbishop the zeal of the patriarchs and prophets, of the apostles and apostolic men, opposing themselves as a wall for the house of the Lord. "You have wished, as was indeed right," says St. Thomas, "to admonish the king repeatedly. He has been admonished by letters, by foreign nuncios, by subdeacons, by your cardinals, by bishops, by abbots, and now, after five years, by my lord Gratian and master Vivian; and still always his last are worse than his former acts †."

But if the patience and humility of the Holy See were thus exercised to the farthest limits possible, we must not suppose that its conduct was ever wanting in dignity or courage.

St. Gregory VII. saw, from the very commencement of his pontificate, the difficulties and dangers which awaited him. He knew that to purify and restore the Church, he had to commence a contest of life and death with the complicated interests of worldly power and of a degenerate clergy, a contest of which he could not hope to see the end, and in which all human means of victory would be arrayed against him. Writing to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, imploring his prayers, he said, "to avert the judgments of God from myself, I must encounter kings and princes, bishops and priests." He wrote that letter from a sick bed on which these anticipations threw him; but how gloriously did he redeem his pledge to draw the Church at any price, from its state of slavery and corruption! "Contrary, perhaps, to the rules of ordinary prudence," says Döllinger, "he began by attacking the most dangerous of his enemies, the corrupt priests and powerful nobles; so that when kings were added, he brought into array against himself the whole power of Europe, whilst even in Rome the ground trembled beneath him, in consequence of his zeal to restore purity. But penetrated with the sense of his station, and of the duties which it imposed upon him, and filled with horror at the corruptions of his age, he

* Ep. cccxix.

† Ep. ccxiv.

stood firm as a rock in his unconquerable conviction of the necessity and justice of his undertaking, and heedless of the persecution which he might bring upon himself*."

Still, however, the highest grandeur of the Holy See was often witnessed in the divine forbearance, to which it could appeal on other occasions with an advantage that it was not slow to learn. In fact, this alone was often sufficient to refute the arguments of its enemies, when they advanced against it with deceit upon their lips; as when Boniface VIII. replied to the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel on his proposing to confiscate the Church property in 1296. "When have you or your ancestors had recourse to this See, without having your petitions granted? And if a grave necessity were again to menace your kingdom, not only would the Holy See grant you the contributions of the prelates and other ecclesiastics; but, if the case required, it would lay its hands on the very chalices, crosses, and sacred vessels, rather than not defend a kingdom so dear to the Holy See?" Indeed, a noble disregard for all temporal interests, when their sacrifice could in the least promote a spiritual end, was always evinced by the Roman Pontiffs." If Pope Alexander asks some pecuniary assistance from the count of Flanders, adding, "that he believes no alms will be more acceptable to God, than those which he may give to him for defending the liberty of the Church at that moment†," he shows on many occasions that he would never suffer considerations of money to interfere for an instant with the attainment of a spiritual object. Thus, when preparing to strike the king of England with anathema, and offering him the last terms, he takes care to charge those whom he entrusts with the commission of the affair, to yield on every point in which mere material interests are concerned. With respect to the provisions promised for the archbishop's expenses on his return to England, "if the king," he says, "cannot be induced to pay the thousand marks, we are not willing that this should be an obstacle to peace, provided the king should consent to the other conditions‡."

* Hist. of Ch. III. Dr. Cox's transl.

† Ep. xc.

‡ Ep. ccxlviii.

The same spirit breathes in his letter to all the brethren of the Cistercian order. "Although we are not ignorant of your faith and devotion to us and to the Church of God, we cannot on that very account but feel astonished that you should have caused our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man religious and honourable, and dear and acceptable in every respect to God, and to us, and to the universal Church, to remove from the monastery of Pontigni, instigated by threats and the fear of losing all your possessions in England. Therefore, since true charity expels fear, and that it is not the part of a religious man to prefer human to divine fear, we command your university, by apostolic writings, never in future to act thus, lest you, who ought to be a refuge of the oppressed exiled for the liberty of the Church, should give a pernicious example to others; and we charge you henceforth to receive the same archbishop into whichever of your houses he may choose, treating him with benignity and honour*."

From such fear, indeed, the Holy See had always been delivered. Pope John, though he was come into France to implore the protection of Louis-le-Bègue, refused to crown his second wife as he desired him, because his first, Ansgarde, whom he had repudiated, was still living †. But the dangers were often immense; so that, alluding to them on one occasion, Bernardo Davanzati, speaking of the reasons which inclined Henry VIII. to believe that Pope Clement would favour his wish respecting the divorce, says, "Perhaps the Pope would have gratified the king, if God had not by the chair of Peter given him assistance ‡."

The letters of Alexander III. to Henry II. are models of firmness and mildness. "We who cannot fail in paternal affection to your person," it is thus he writes, "desire to honour you as a Catholic prince and a Christian king, and to listen to you in all things, as far as honesty will permit, firmly believing and hoping that you are aware how much more glorious it is for you to have your will conquered, than for it to conquer in things which compromise the cause of God and of the Church §."

* Ep. lxxiv.

† Chron. de S. Denis, An. 878.

‡ Lo Scisma d'Inghilterra, lib. i. p. 17.

§ Ep. cxxix.

Again, in another letter he reminds him, "That the more he has received as a king, the more will be required from him; that he is therefore peculiarly bound to seek the honour of God; and that, through paternal affection, he must consequently remind him of the demand of the last farthing, and admonish him so to think of things eternal, that he may hereafter reign in heaven *."

After all, we must remember that in resisting the persecutors of the Church, the Holy See could only command a power, for the efficacy of which, the existence of faith was indispensable. Not even in the middle ages could it in general exercise any other. But we may pause an instant, to admire the array of its mighty strength thus limited. "What sublime eloquence! what poesy!" exclaims a modern historian, alluding to the bull that was at last fulminated against Luther. "The exordium," he adds, "is itself a vast picture in the style of Michael Angelo. The heavens open, and God the Father rises in all his majesty: he inclines his ear and listens to the supplications of his Church, which cries to Him to drive off this fox which infests the holy vineyard, this wild boar which desolates the forest of the Lord. Then St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, attentive to the prayers of this Church of Rome, this mother of churches, the mistress of the faith, whose first stone he has cemented with his blood, rises up all armed against the master of lies, whose tongue is a burning coal, whose lips distil poison and death. St. Paul too, who has heard the tears of the faithful, advances to defend the cause for which he also has shed his blood, against a new Porphyry whose teeth fasten upon Pontiffs, who died in the faith, as did formerly those of Porphyry on the holy Apostles. In fine, the whole firmament is revealed. One beholds the Church universal, the celestial cloud, the angels and thrones, the cherubims and dominations, the prophets of the ancient law, the martyrs, doctors, apostles, and disciples of Christ; and all this blessed host with hands stretched out to the throne of the living God, implores Him to put an end to the triumph of heresy, and to preserve the holy Church of Christ in unity and peace †."

* Ep. cxviii.

† Audin, Hist. de Luther, i. 287.

And now methinks I hear sung these words of the offertory of the mass of certain blessed martyrs: "Dico autem vobis amicis meis, ne terreamini ab his qui vos persequuntur." I said at first that this was an heroic theme; nor will my words prove false, when we proceed now to speak of the courage with which the episcopacy, and the clergy in general, defended the sacred cause of the liberty of the Church. The spectacle will still be that of high honour, achieving triumphs of heroism so transcendent as to demand exclusive gaze, though allied with graces, at the bare remembrance of which separately a world might adore.

"Sancti mei, qui, in carne positi, certamen habuistis." The responses of the Church are history. Truly the saints had combats; and when the choir sings, "Isti sunt qui viventes in carne, plantaverunt Ecclesiam sanguine suo; calicem Domini biberunt;" and the response echoes, "Et amici Dei facti sunt," the anthems are history, pregnant with instruction for later times; for it is not said that they were made friends of the king, friends of the ministry, friends of this or that political party; but that they drank the chalice of persecution, and were made friends of God.

The clergy of the middle ages, when true to their own standard, fulfilled the divine prophecy that there should be in Sion men powerful in justice, who should be plants of the Lord to render Him glory*. They were ready servants to execute the counsel of the Highest, at the risk of all things; and the faith which many bore to their high charge, cost them the life-blood that warmed their veins. From time to time, a few hirelings might consent and prosper, like the canons of Cologne, who now side with persecutors; but the old adversary sought out the brave, those on whose heads the fiery tongues of celestial gifts still shone; here alone he struck his quarry, and elsewhere disdained to pounce upon the prey.

On the death of Lanfranc, St. Anselm, who was then abbot of Bec, inscribed to commemorate him these lines, which expressed the obligations of his office.

* Is. lxi. 3.

" Archiepiscopus non divitias, nec honores,
Lanfrancus subiit, sed curas atque labores *."

Such was in fact the prospect associated with a mitre. When the holy Wazo first took possession of his cathedral as bishop of Liege, we read that he wept, and seemed like a boy of seven years of age under the rod of a master †.

With a view to the persecution of bishops and other superiors, an ancient author, when about to write the life of Boemund, archbishop of Treves, begins with a general reflection, saying, "As Walter de Castellione remarks, it is strange that the human race originally created good, should be so far depraved, as to be more ready to condemn than to yield indulgence. Hence detractors, a race hostile to peace, and deservedly styled hateful to God, interpret in the worst sense, whatever is doubtful. As for us, let us be always benign and mild towards our prelates, supporting one another in patience, knowing that "the waters of Siloë flow in silence quietly ‡."

"Assuredly to the rank which I possess," says Mathew, archbishop of Treves, to Pope Alexander III. "there is annexed much honour, but far more of burden, so that my shoulders must of necessity fail, unless the Lord lends me his hand. For if your providence will deign to turn your eyes towards these parts, it will see that there are great torments for many good men, and grievous contests for them; which evils I, being unable to correct as a bishop, and not daring, through fear of the divine judgment, to dissemble as far as regards my office, whoever can doubt whether I am placed in straits is ignorant of my condition. But my hope is in God, and in you to whom I now appeal in behalf of one of my fellow sufferers for justice, and for the honour of God, my most worthy lord of Canterbury, who is now a proscribed exile with us here §." Thus were bishops well aware of the extent of their obligations in regard to the cares and labours which they had to endure: "They knew," as St. Thomas says, "that if pastors either through love or

* *Nuestria pia.*

† *Gestæ Episc. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 888.*

‡ *Gestæ Trevirens. Arch. ap. id. iv. 342.*

§ *St. Thom. Epist. cxciil.*

hatred, cupidity or negligence, or through hope or fear of temporal things should desert their post, or yield to vices, their candlestick would be removed, and the people would perish *, that shame and ruin would then be their portion; for salt that has lost its flavour is good for nothing; it is so worthless, they observed, that it cannot even be compared to the dung which serves for manuring the land. They knew that, as the martyr Cyprian says, *Episcopus, si timidus est, actum est de eo*, that it is all over with him," as St. Thomas adds, "because he is thenceforth absolutely useless: but that charity expels this fear, and makes men fit to lead the people †."

They were aware also of the full extent of the personal danger attached to the discharge of their duty. "You have to deal with one," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "whose cunning is dreaded by those who are far distant, whose power his neighbours, whose severity his subjects fear; whom repeated successes and the smiles of fortune have made delicate, so that he deems an injury whatever is not obsequious; who the quicker he is excited, the more difficult it is to appease him; with whom impunity not merely nourishes temerity, but leads to crimes which call for unmeasured vengeance. Whatever he does, must seem to come from his will, not from impotence; for he seeks glory more than success, which would be commendable in a prince, if virtue and truth, not vanity and a meretricious adulation, were the matter of glory. He is great, and the greatest of many; for he has no superior who might intimidate, nor subject who can resist him; nor is he exposed to any external enemies, by whose injuries he might be tamed in regard to his innate disposition of domestic ferocity; but all who have any cause of contention with him would rather agree to the delusive bonds of a vain peace, than come to trial of strength, since he exceeds in the abundance of riches, in the multitude of his adherents, and in the amplitude of his power ‡."

"Dangers surround me on all sides," writes St. Thomas to this formidable king. "I am placed between two great and fearful perils. If I am silent, I shall not escape the hand of the Lord; if I speak, I shall incur, I fear,

* Ep. clxxi.

† Ep. cclxxiii.

‡ Ep. xxi.

your indignation. What shall I do then? Shall I speak, or shall I be silent? Both are perilous. Nevertheless, since it is safer to incur the wrath of man, than to fall into the hands of the living God; trusting in the mercy of the Most High, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, which He can turn as it pleaseth Him, I will speak to my lord, since I have once begun consulting your utility rather than your will *."

The danger on this occasion is intimated also by one of his correspondents, saying, "the king's ambassadors have denounced me before the Pope, as his especial enemy; and it would not be expedient for me for all the gold of Arabia, that he should get me into his power. Yet my faith is not terrified, and I can say with Peter, *Paratus sum tecum in mortem et in carcerem ire* †." "Pursuing these measures, we are aware," says St. Thomas to the Pope, "that great, yet surmountable labours are awaiting us; but we prefer following the strait and narrow way which leads to life, rather than the wide and spacious way which through worldly deceits draws on to hell ‡."

Again, he says to him, "that experiment is the mother and nurse of philosophy, was a celebrated saying of the ancients, approved of by the testimony of Apollo; and rightly, since each person can judge best of the things in which he has had experience, while to others who are inexperienced, there is but a vain and fraudulent imagination; which I premise, in order that the Lord Pope may now be no longer unwilling to credit me in regard to the perils which assail the Church and myself, or rather the Apostolic See, whose privilege I am defending, not without great and evident peril §."

Such then were the dangers to which those who defended the cause of religion, and especially the ecclesiastical liberty, were in every age more or less exposed. But to meet them, the holy Church had been always provided with choice spirits tempered to the true heroic height of beatitude, uniting undaunted courage with gentleness and humility; and these two features of the sacerdotal character, we must illustrate by examples from the histo-

* Ep. xlv.

† Ep. vi.
ccxci.

‡ Ep. cclxxxiii.

ries of the ages of faith. And first let us regard their fortitude.

"I know," said the emperor Theodosius, "that Ambrose is inflexible, when it is a question of his doing his duty, and that he will do nothing against the law of God, through respect for the imperial majesty." After citing these words, Olier, the institutor of the seminary of St. Sulpice, used to exclaim, "Oh! if there were to be some hearts like that of St. Ambrose in the Church, how would Jesus Christ be glorified in the world! Oh, that it may please his goodness to raise up again some with the same spirit." Such men, however, were not wanting in the middle ages, when occasions called for them; nor do we look for them in vain, at present, as appears from the astonishment and confusion of those who thought that the age of moral heroism for a spiritual end was irrevocably gone.

When the Neustrian duke Rakkolen, the general of Chilperick, advanced with his army to the gates of Tours, and sent this message to the bishop; "If you do not make the duke Gonthrainn leave the basilica of St. Martin, I will burn the city and its suburbs;" St. Gregory replied calmly, "That the thing was impossible." But he received a second message, still more threatening, "If you do not expel the king's enemy this very day, I will destroy every thing, even to the green herb, within the space of a league round the town, so that the plough may pass every where." The bishop Gregory was as impassible as before *.

The history of the Merovingian times might furnish other similar instances innumerable; and if we descend to ages less remote, we shall find that at each collision between the Church and the material power, holy men of the same fortitude were sure to rise up.

Such were the pontiffs and abbots who cooperated with St. Gregory VII. in enforcing his decree at the synod of Rome in 1074, respecting simony and incontinence,—Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, Altman, bishop of Passau, the archbishop of Rouen, and Walter, abbot of Pontisare, who ran the risk of their lives to procure its execution.

* Thierry, *Récits des Temps Méroving.*

Let us hear the old chroniclers relate some instances of courage in blessed men, resolute to obey God before his creature.

“The emperor Henry being excommunicated, yet still on account of his dignity, receiving accustomed honours, came in 1081, with a great company, and with much pomp, to visit the monastery of Prufeningen, near Ratisbon. It was thought that of course the abbot, the blessed Erminold, would order the bells to sound, and that he and all the brethren would come forth processionally in the accustomed manner, to meet the emperor; but the thoughts of the servant of God were not as their thoughts, who place pillows under every arm. He was not as a reed shaken by every wind of terror or favour, but as an immovable column, insensible alike to fear or favour. As soon as he heard by messengers, that the emperor was approaching, he ordered all the gates of the monastery to be shut close, and forbade any one to leave the walls, or any one to be admitted within. Yet, in order that his motives might be understood by all, he came himself before the walls of the cloister, and said, ‘I would gladly receive the emperor, if I were ignorant that he was not in communion with the Apostolic See.’ ‘Too inconsiderately and precipitately,’ replied the emperor, ‘do you deprive yourself of this honour;’ to whom he answered, ‘Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, knows that I act thus, from no other motive, but to defend justice, and obey the Papal mandate.’ Otho the bishop here interposing, and saying, ‘We ought not to avoid any one, unless we know for certain that he is excommunicated,’ the blessed man calmly replied, ‘I cannot be ignorant of a sentence which was promulgated by my own tongue.’ The emperor, considering that the abbot acted in the spirit and virtue of Elias, reverently departed with all his company*.”

When this wicked emperor Henry IV. commanded Desiderius, abbot of Monte Casino, to come and receive investiture from his hands, the holy man assembled the brethren in the chapter-house, and spoke as follows: “I am in great straits on every side, for if I do not go

* De Vita S. Emenoldi, lib. i. c. 9. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. iv.

to the emperor, the danger is great, and the monastery may be overthrown; if I go and fulfil his will, I risk my soul; and if I go and do not fulfil his will, I risk my body. Nevertheless I will go, delivering myself to death and danger. Neither will I make my life more precious than that of the most holy father Benedict; but for your common safety, both of soul and body, and for the safety of this place, if it cannot be otherwise, I wish I may be anathema from Christ; for though I were to be slain a thousand times, no one shall separate me from the love of this place. I am ready to go, I do not say to the emperor who is a Christian, but to any pagan or tyrant, provided I can deliver the goods of this monastery from the barbarian hands." So commending himself, he departed. The emperor used towards him both threats and promises, but all in vain. Desiderius said that he would not receive investiture from his hands for all the honour of the world; at length leave was given him to depart, and he returned in safety to the brethren*. Perhaps nothing can show more strongly the fixed resolution with which men resisted the least invasion of ecclesiastical liberty, and clung to the observance of the canons which protected it, than the fact, that when the emperor Henry IV. died in excommunication, his body remained during five years unburied, in a desert chapel†; notwithstanding the power on his side, so adequate was their courage to enforce the ecclesiastical discipline.

The ancient author of the life of the blessed Hartman, bishop of Brescia, furnishes an instance of episcopal courage in presence of an emperor, who espoused the party of an antipope, which he relates in these terms. "When the emperor on his journey besought this holy bishop to consecrate a portable altar for his use, the prelate replied that he would do so gladly, but on condition that it was done under the authority of Pope Alexander, whom the emperor did not acknowledge, choosing to favour the election of Victor. Nevertheless, he gratefully accepted it on such terms. Who would pre-

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casin. iii. 50.

† Chronicon. Nurnbergens. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. i.

sume?" exclaims that old writer, "thus to resist such majesty face to face?"

The victory of St. John Nepomucen took place on the sixteenth day of May, 1383. His martyrdom was the more illustrious, because the religious seal of confession had found no previous victim. Appointed almoner at the court of Wenceslas, whose residence was at Prague, the pious and accomplished empress Jane chose him for her director, an example which was followed by most of the ladies of the court. The emperor loved his wife, but with fits of jealousy which neither her prudence, piety, nor unspotted life could appease. At last, he resolved to learn the secrets of her confessions; sending for John, he first endeavoured, indirectly, to elicit the information he desired from him, and then openly made his demand. The saint, struck with horror, represented to him, in the most respectful manner, the utter impossibility of complying with his sacrilegious request. The tyrant dissembled his anger. But, shortly after, John daring to remonstrate with him for a most outrageous act of cruelty, the tyrant sent him to a dungeon. Then he endeavoured sometimes by caresses, and at others by the most cruel tortures, to extort from him the confessions of the empress. But the holy man being proof against his attempts, at length, in a fit of fury, he ordered him to be drowned in the river Muldow; which order was executed from the spot upon the bridge on which his statue is now placed.

But let us return for illustrations to that glorious epoch of English history, from which we have already so largely drawn; for of all that we could find, however far we might pursue this course, in which heroic images abound, none else would be more worthy of regard than the last Canterbury martyr.

St. Thomas, however, had had predecessors endowed with a spirit as undaunted as his own. "Non fugio mortem," said St. Anselm, "non abscissiones membrorum, non quælibet tormenta, sed peccatum et ignominiam ecclesiæ Dei, et maxime Cantuariensis *." He had also the assistance of those encouragements which holy men were in the habit of addressing to each other, whenever the tempests of persecution assailed them, and which he was

* S. Anselm. Epist. cviii.

not backward to repay with usury to his brethren. Let us hear how they write on these occasions.

"As for any consolation here," says John, bishop of Poitiers, to St. Thomas, "in vain you expect it. Therefore whatever you do, beloved father and lord, with a view to preserve the liberty of the Church, you have only to look for help from God, and from him to whom God has committed the defence of it. I indeed expect, not alone a similar, but a harder trial. I wish that I may be, and that I had already been, a partaker of your exile. Nor will it be inglorious to us, that we who have often abused worldly prosperity for purposes of vanity and secular delight, should now, if it be necessary, suffer together without fear, and bear adversity for a celestial retribution *."

Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, writes to him in these terms. "Your holiness, recognising the duty of the episcopal office, would forfeit your power and your possessions, and offer your person to every injury, rather than neglect it. You keep in memory the evangelic text, taught by the chief Shepherd, and confirmed by His example, that we should lay down our lives for our sheep, and for our brethren, not provide delectable matter of gain to their detriment. And indeed your burden would be lightened, if a common cause were defended by all in common: but all others prevaricating and turning back, you are left alone to stand for Israel, and to redeem a second time with blood, that liberty which Christ once purchased for us by His own blood. For though the cause has not yet come to the effusion of blood, yet the devotion which not only exposed, but offered your person to threats and terrors, supplies the merit of a passion. God can witness I sympathise with your adversity, and with true charity embrace your person and your cause †."

John of Salisbury, in a moment of discouragement, uses these words to him. "I do not say, that even in the Roman Church should be the foundation of our hope, but in Him alone on whom it is founded, and in whom every work that is rooted faithfully will bear fruit, and be consummated in glory. Let Him be in the foundation of our conscience; and, doubtless, man will

* S. Thom. Epist. xi.

† Ep. xxi.

not prevail, nor need we fear either the threats of tyrants, or the snares of those that are carnally wise, or the perfidy of traitors, or the pusillanimity of a judge, or the avarice and inconstancy of those who seek in all things what are theirs, and what are of the flesh, not what are of Jesus Christ *."

Again, in another letter he says to him, "Above all things have recourse to prayer and other exercises of the Christian warfare, and commend your combat amidst the intercession of the saints to God: and thus proceed to do that, whatever it may be, which the Holy Ghost by his organs, that is, wise and faithful men, and your cause, may require. I believe that you also have the Spirit of God, because He who gives zeal to one undeserving, must in the article of necessity minister counsel to one who well deserves. I do not advise you, therefore, as lord Theobald was accustomed to say, to conceal in darkness the counsel which the Lord inspires in your heart, and to prefer the opinions of others less vigilant in your cause †."

In like manner, the holy archbishop writes to encourage and commend others, by inflaming them with words of love that burn with a divine intensity. Thus to Henry, the noble bishop of Winchester, he writes as follows. "In this manner should a priest of Christ consummate his life, honouring his ministry while living, and after his death leaving an example of probity to edify the Church, that others may imitate or improve upon his actions. Therefore, since the Holy Ghost amongst innumerable gifts has conferred upon you the talent of counsel and fortitude more than upon all your fellow-countrymen and contemporaries, we entreat your paternity to confirm our brethren, to animate and strengthen them by your exhortations and example; for a brother aided by a brother is like an impregnable city, and your works ought to be the armour of the strong; and what the others may do ought to be ascribed to you whom they behold labouring; and indeed, as we hear and hope, that some of them are already risen, and are disposed to stand with you against the members of Satan, is imputed by them to your merits ‡."

* Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

† Epist. xxxiii.

‡ Ep. S. Thom. clxxxviii.

Again, in another letter to him, he says, "Your faith and constancy have shone forth; you have preferred the divine commands to the threats, as well as flatteries, of all the officers of the public power, and, with a word of truth and an example of fortitude, have taught that one should obey God rather than man *."

To the chapter of Canterbury his words in conclusion are these: "Let all of us have but one heart and one soul in the Lord, lest any one should seek what is his own, and not that which is Jesus Christ's, and that which conduces to the public utility, and to the liberty and dignity of the Church hereafter. Comfort ye, ye who are weak in mind, for the time is near when all will see the glory of God, and the confusion and ignominy of those who persecute his Church. Let no one trust in the furniture of earth, or in the familiarity of satellites, because sordid booty has never a good end, and there is no faith in infidels †."

To Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "Let not your faith, dearest brother, vacillate in doing these things; for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength; trust in Him who overcame the world; and remember that he who fears the hail will have the snow falling on him, and that he who declines iron arms will fall beneath the brazen bow. Fear argues a degenerate mind; and those who dare bravely, will grace assist and glory crown. Whatever others may do, we are convinced that no force of any tempest will break your constancy ‡."

"Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
Quam tua te fortuna sinat."

How his calm indulgence in the memory of gentle studies, in such times of peril, indicates the unshaken resolution of the man! John of Salisbury, in like manner, conveys the same encouragement to another of his fellow-soldiers, in the familiar language of the *Æneid* §.

But let us hear how St. Thomas writes to the terrible monarch who was to place the everlasting crown upon his head. Well did I observe in the beginning, that this would prove a happy theme. Truly these letters alone

* Ep. clxxxix.

† Ep. cclxxiii.

‡ Ep. xcxi.

§ Joan. Sar. Ep. ii.

are sufficient to justify my estimate. Does not the heart dilate beyond itself at the sound of such solemn, such impressive words, so brave, so calm, so powerful, to inspire an heroic joy, tempered with that still small voice of heaven's own blessed patience which makes it ineffable, like a foretaste of beatitude?

"The daughter of Sion is captive in your land; the spouse of the great king is oppressed by many, afflicted by those who have long hated her, by whom she ought to be honoured, not afflicted, as most of all by you. Call to your remembrance the benefits which God has conferred upon you in the beginning and middle of your reign, and even until now. Discharge that debt, and suffer her to reign with her spouse, that God may befriend you, that your kingdom may recover its health, that shame may be removed from your generation, and that there may be peace in your days. Believe me, beloved lord, most serene prince, the Lord is a patient rewarder, a long-suffering expectant, but a most grievous avenger. Hear me and do well; otherwise beware lest the most Mighty should gird His sword upon His thigh, and should come with a strong hand and an immense army to deliver His spouse, not without great slaughter, from the oppression and servitude of him who troubles her, and to take vengeance on her enemies*."

Writing to the Pope, he says: "The apostolic authority and the liberty of the Church will wholly perish here, unless the germ of these evils be eradicated; for the king has heirs who will imitate his cruelty. As for me, I would resist, not only unto blood, but unto death itself, rather than leave the Church exposed to such evils†." To John, bishop of Poitiers, he says: "If he speaks great things, if he introduces marvels, we do not admire, nor will we succumb to admiration; for it is better to perish by another's wickedness than by our own fears; but hold it for certain, whatever perjury may swear, whatever the captious austerity of a torturer may threaten, that, by the mercy of God, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor any creature can separate us from the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation‡." Again, to Gilbert, bishop of London, he

* Epist. xcv.

† Epist. lvi.

‡ Epist. xciv.

says: "A dreadful tempest assails the ship; I am at the helm, and you bid me sleep. You remind me of the past favours of the king; but what has a Christian, a learned and religious bishop, to say on this head? For, supposing that they were even much greater than you say, ought I for their sake, though they were to be multiplied a hundred-fold, to expose the liberty of the Church of God? In this I will spare neither you, nor any one, nor an angel, if he should descend from heaven; but my reply to such advice will only be, *Vade retro, Sathana; non sapis quæ Dei sunt*. Far be from me the weakness, God avert from me the insanity, of being persuaded by any artifice to make a trade of the body of Christ; that I may be assimilated to Judas who sold, and my lord the king to the Jews who bought Him*." Then to the Pope he writes in these terms, "I have no doubt but that this contention would have been long extinguished, if the king had not found patrons of his will, not to say of his perversity. May God return them whatever is expedient for His Church, and judge between us. Their patronage would not have been necessary to me if I had wished to expose the Church of God, and acquiesce in his will. I might have flourished and abounded in the riches and delights of the kingdom; I might have been feared, revered, and honoured by all men; I might have provided all the pleasures and glories of the world for mine own. But, since God has called me, who am an unworthy and most wretched sinner, though flourishing in the world above all my contemporaries, to the government of His Church, with His grace preventing and co-operating, I have chosen to be abject in His house, and to finish exile and proscription and extreme misery only with my life, rather than make a sacrifice of ecclesiastical liberty, and prefer the iniquitous traditions of men to the law of God. Let them do this who promise to themselves length of days, and, from the consciousness of their merits, better times. But I know for certain, that my days are short, and that if I do not announce to the impious his iniquity, his blood will be required from my hands by Him to whom, unassisted by any patronage of man, I shall have to render an account of all that I have committed and omitted. There, gold

and silver, and the gifts which blind the eyes, even of the wise, will be of no use. We shall soon stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, by whose majesty and tremendous judgment I call upon you, as a father and lord, and the highest judge on earth, to administer justice on those who seek my soul, and not to suffer His Church to be trampled down under the feet of the impious *." To Bernard he concludes a letter with these words: "If it be the will of God that we should die in banishment for the liberty of the Church, may the sacrifice be pleasing to Him; for we have determined to die, rather than for any price of the world to betray that sacred cause, and sell to an impious king the inheritance of our fathers †." Again, to the bishop of Worcester, he says: "Is it for us to be silent amidst such contumely of Christ? Let hirelings be silent, as they will be silent; but whoever is a shepherd of the Church, without doubt, will join us. If we were to dissemble farther, we should fear lest the avenging sword of God should fall upon our heads ‡." Then to the Pope he says: "We are proscribed and miserable; for we have acted, not with a view to live more securely and more quietly, avoiding the importunity of such a persecutor, but that the Church of God may flourish in our times, and may breathe with more freedom in those of posterity. For happily are hard and grievous things endured for a time, in order that happier may succeed §." "During the last five years the king has raged against the Church; and, what I fear to say, almost daily have I beheld Christ crucified in His members, and I have not drawn the sword of the Word of God. When I read of the zeal of Phinees, Heli, Mathathias; when I read of the apostolic fervour; when I read of the holy fathers who opposed themselves to princes and powers for the house of the Lord, I tremble for myself, and at the danger of my miserable soul, and I fear a just condemnation of my unjust patience ||." "Are these things," he continues, "written to be the fables of a narrative, and not examples of manners and a form of life? These things, indeed, are on the tongue of every preacher; but, I blush and grieve to add, the lives of some demonstrate

* Epist. cxxxiv.

† Epist. clxxx.

|| Epist. ccxiv.

‡ Epist. cxlviii.

§ Epist. ccli.

that they are not in their hearts *.” Then to cardinal Albert, after a terrible reproof of venal ministers in the Roman court, and a complaint of his own efforts being counteracted by them, he says: “God sees and judges; but for the liberty of the Church, we are prepared to die. Let whatever cardinals will rise up; let them arm, not only the king of England, but, if they can, the whole world for our destruction, I, with God’s help, will not depart from my fidelity to the Church either in life or death. To God, in fine, I commit His own cause, for which I am a proscribed exile. He will take charge of it as He knows best. Henceforth it is not my intention to trouble your court. Let them repair to it who prevail by iniquity, and who return boasting of the confusion of the Church. I wish that the road to it had not proved fatal to the innocent. Who in future will dare to resist the king when the Roman Church seems to animate and arm him to leave a pernicious example to posterity †?” “Behold how they who seek to abolish the authority of the Pope in England are punished by the Roman Church! Behold the reward of those who are faithful! These things are seen by God, that terrible majesty which will judge the ends of the earth, and take away the spirit from princes. We, by His grace, whether living or dead, are and will be for ever His, prepared to sustain, for the liberty of the Church, banishment, proscriptions, and all the sufferings of the world; I only wish that we may be found worthy of suffering persecution for the sake of justice ‡.” Finally, in his last letter from the continent to the Pope, he concludes with these words: “We seek not, as God knows, in any thing our own glory; we, who wish that we had never received the pastoral office, pregnant as it is doubtless with many dangers, and with eternal death; but we wish that in our and your days, the occasion of schism may be cut off, and perpetual peace by your means restored to the English Church. These things we say to you in the presence of Him who will judge us both, and to whom we must render our accounts. May He inspire and teach you what you ought to do. You have heard of our combat; but, as the proverb says, He alone who is near the fire feels the heat. We believe that we are about to proceed to England;

* Epist. ccxiv.

† Epist. cclvii.

‡ Epist. cclix.

whether to peace or to pain we know not; but the lot which is to befall us has been divinely ordained, therefore we commend our soul to your paternity, returning thanks to you and to the Apostolic See, for all the consolations which it has ministered to us and ours in such a necessity *."

"The archbishop," says William of Canterbury, "walking on the sea-shore with his company, to judge if the weather were likely to permit his voyage, Milo, the dean of Boulogne, came hastening with letters from Matthew, count of Boulogne, to this effect: 'Provide for your safety! They who seek your life are ready waiting for you on the English coast, that they may assassinate you as you disembark, or else put you in irons and convey you to prison.' The archbishop replied: 'Believe me my son, not if I were sure to be torn limb from limb would I desist from this journey; neither fear nor violence nor torture shall move me more. It is sufficient that the shepherd has been seven years absent from the Lord's flock. My last petition, for when men can do nothing else any longer, they ought to express their last will, is that, to the Church, from which I have been banished while living, they may permit me to be buried dead†.'" O blessed! who, for death preparing, went on thus with constancy, invincible to the end.

We ought not to pass from this theme without remarking the heroic courage displayed by other generous spirits in the same great struggle. In the letters of St. Thomas we find mention repeatedly of religious men in England who were not to be moved by the fear of the king's officers, nor by the public commands of the government ‡. Henry, bishop of Winchester, publicly and solemnly protested that he would obey the Holy See, with all devotion, as long as he lived; and he required his clergy to make the same declaration. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery until iniquity should pass. The bishop of Norwich, though prohibited by the king, yet, in presence of his officers, excommunicated Count Hugo and others, as he was commanded; and then descending from the pulpit, placed his crosier upon the altar, saying that he would see who

* Epist. ccxcvii.

† In Vit. S. Thom. lib. iii. c. 3.

‡ Epist. cxc.

would put forth a hand against his Church, and then entering the cloister, lived with the brethren. The bishop of Chester acted similarly, and, in order to escape the king's officers, withdrew into that part of his diocese within Wales *."

In adopting this course, these prelates only followed an ancient custom observed on similar occasions. Thus, in the sixth century, at a council of Lyons, eleven bishops braving the menaces of king Sigismond, passed a resolution to stand by each other, if any one of them should be attacked by the temporal power, and in that event to retire into different monasteries, until peace should be restored to the Church.

But we must not omit to cite some expressions of John of Salisbury, testifying the devoted intrepidity of that generous friend of the holy martyr, in the same sacred cause. To the bishop of Exeter he writes in these terms: "If it be a question of making my peace with the king in your presence, I beseech you to take care that the form agreed upon be such as not to involve me in the least stain of perfidy or baseness, for otherwise I would rather remain for ever in banishment. If it be required from me to deny my archbishop, which no one as yet has done, far be it from me to be either the first or last to acquiesce in such turpitude. I have been faithful to my lord archbishop, but only conscientiously so, and with a saving of the king's honour, against whom, if any one should say that I was guilty, if I cannot produce a good excuse to his honour, I am prepared to amend as far as is consistent with justice. For the Searcher of hearts, and the Judge of words and works knows that oftener and more severely than any one else I admonished the archbishop not to provoke him unadvisedly; since many things were to be dispensed with in consideration of place and times and persons†." Again, to Raimund of Poitiers he says, "If my peace is to be made with the king, it must be in such a form as not to offend God or tarnish my name; and if it can be so made, I will thank God, and you, and every one who contributes to it; but if oaths be required, my lord bishop knows with what subtle reverence I am bound in such matters. I can never swear in that prescription of words, or rather proscription

* Epist. cexl.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. xxiv.

of salvation, which, as I hear, is required and admitted by others, in which there is no mention made of saving God, or the law, or our order; and who but an alien from faith and a despiser of all oaths, would take an oath to observe reprobate customs and laws, unknown or repugnant to the law of God * ?” Again, to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says: “I do not fear that I have been speaking to the wind, or that it is dangerous for me to have spoken truth to the ears of such sanctity; yet I do not dread the snares of those who oppose truth; but I wish that I had devoted my whole life to truth, and that I may spend the rest of my life in asserting it †.” Finally, to another correspondent, he writes thus: “Charity at least cannot be prohibited; for where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty. It is not lawful to hold and defend the ecclesiastical liberty? Certainly it is lawful to proclaim the commands of the divine law: it is lawful, for the Word of God, which assumed flesh and suffered death for us, to expose not only our possessions and the perishable goods of this world, but also our lives. May the Inspirer of all good spirits vouchsafe us perseverance in this affection, since He has given us the will of this affection. My lord of Canterbury will consent to no conditions unless the Church of the English shall enjoy its due liberty; and when I say its due liberty, I do not say that this is to be determined by reference to the times of any Henry, but to the legitimate sanctions of the Word of God; because, by profession, he ought not to be a Henrician, but a Christian: *quia ex professione Henricianus esse non debet, sed Christianus ‡.*”

We have seen the courage of these great and holy men; let us observe how faithfully they adhered also to the meekness and humility which became their state, meriting that praise which has been inscribed upon the medal in commemoration of De Quelen, the late archbishop of Paris: “*Et de forti egressa est dulcedo.*”

A modern writer says, that in one sense or other there is something of the savage in every great man. He can have only studied pagan and modern times. The preceding books will have amply disproved his assertion, as far as the Ages of Faith are concerned: here our ob-

* Epist. xxxii.

† Epist. lv.

‡ Epist. lxiv.

servations are to be confined to those who evinced heroism in defending the Church ; and it will not require much delay to demonstrate, not that there was nothing of the savage in their character, for it is not so much this charge which is brought against them, but that nothing entered into it which was opposed to the humility, and gentleness, and pacific desires of the ascetically Christian mind.

"Sacerdotes," said St. Ambrose, "turbarum moderatores sunt, studiosi pacis, nisi cum et ipsi moventur injuria Dei aut ecclesiæ contumelia *." Such is the character that the clergy merited during the middle ages ; a testimony which cannot be denied to them without flagrant injustice : nor does the epoch of St. Thomas of Canterbury form an exception, as some writers pretend ; for, without extending our researches beyond it, we can easily adduce evidence in proof of the fact. The truth is, that so accustomed were the clergy to revere the authorities of the state, and to breathe only peace towards all men, that whenever occasions required them to resist the king, and to denounce the injustice of his government, they were alarmed at the heroic virtue of their own members in fulfilling their strict obligations. Hence all those letters of advice, addressed to St. Thomas by persons who beheld his intrepidity with admiration, but, at the same time, with fear. Thus one of his correspondents writes, "Whatever the perversity of the malignant may design against your innocence, I advise and beseech you to acquire and preserve the king's favour, as far as you can, consistently with fidelity to God ; for this is expedient to the Church. Nor do I see how you can govern with utility, so long as the king is adverse to you in all things ; as the Roman Church will only give you words, and all losses will be imputed to you †."

"We cannot indeed behold, with dry eyes," says John, bishop of Poitiers, "the vineyard of the Lord demolished ; though we do not persevere in opposition as we ought, though we dissemble many things in consideration of the dangers of the time ‡." "I think no one wise," says John of Salisbury, "who dissuades us from peace, if it can be had in the Lord, and without derogation of

* Epist. xxix.

† S. Thom. Epist. v.

‡ Epist. viii.

honesty. Let there be only peace in our days, I say devoutly, if it can be with a safe conscience and unspotted fame, and not merely pretended and momentary. But this depends on God, and its attainment is beyond our power*." "We exhort your fraternity, in the Lord," says another correspondent, "with all earnestness, to persevere as you have begun. May you be strong and patient, sitis fortis et patiens; for the more patience you evince towards him, the more heavy will be the hand of the Church against him if he should not correct himself†." Nor was the conduct of the archbishop contrary to patience and the love of peace. Indeed, his compliance at first with the king's demand, and the tears he shed when reproached for it by his cross-bearer, prove how willing he was to avoid a struggle. He who wept at the voice of such an humble monitor as his cross-bearer, could hardly have been proud. Necessarily, indeed, his elevation of mind appeared pride to those who knew not God, "the loftiness of the humble, and the fortitude of the right, *Celsitudo humilium, et fortitudo rectorum*," as the Church says on Holy Saturday. Describing his own conduct, St. Thomas says, "We heard all things patiently, hoping that the king's indignation would be mitigated if he were to pour forth, without being contradicted, all the acerbity which he had conceived in his mind‡." "Let no one belie the truth, saying that I was adverse to concord, provided it was in the Lord, and without injury to the Church. For I am not so insane as to sacrifice, with such readiness, the things which are most grateful to other men, and to despise what is greatest in temporal matters, if I could preserve them without making shipwreck of things eternal. Let no one defend his own error in the appetite for vain rest or for worldly goods, by accusing me of being contemptuous; for God, who cannot be mocked, before whose tribunal we shall all stand, will soon reveal with what mind each man has lived; I have, for the inspector of my conscience, and my witness, Him whom I look for as my Judge§." When the king made his second demand for three hundred pounds, which St. Thomas had received while he was warden of Berkhamstead, the archbishop replied, that

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxii.

† Epist. clxxx.

‡ Epist. S. Thom. ccxx.

§ Epist. ccxiii.

more than that sum had been expended in their repairs ; “but,” he added, “he would pay it; for mere money should be no ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign : but when the king requires such new and undue customs, let no one persuade you that I form an impediment to peace ; for it is he opposes it, who subverts the law of God and disturbs the whole Church. Whatever I can do, saving my order, and without giving a pernicious example, I will willingly do to restore peace and recover his favour ; but far be it from me to do any thing knowingly against God for the tranquillity of a moment, and for goods not so much perishable as the cause of men perishing *.” To the king himself he says, “The Searcher of hearts, the Judge of souls, and the Avenger of faults, knows with what purity of mind, and sincerity of love, we made peace with you, believing that you acted towards us with good faith. But, whether we live or die, we are, and ever will be, yours in the Lord ; and, whatever may befall us, may God be gracious to you and to your children †.” In fine, John of Salisbury bears this testimony to the archbishop : “He was desirous of peace, but still more desirous of ecclesiastical liberty. He desired the salvation and the glory of the king, and the indemnity of his children ‡.” Methinks we have already seen sufficient proof that he did not stand in need of the counsels of men of these latter days, to learn by what means, and with what spirit, he should pursue this great contest. Yet hear him farther : “We return thanks to your worthiness,” he says to the Pope, “that you have been so solicitous respecting our peace. The king of France himself proclaimed our innocence, and removed the suspicions excited against us ; for we are not so dull and slow of heart to believing the law, and the prophets, and the Gospels, as, in such a necessity, to leave spiritual weapons, and the muniments of apostolic discipline, to trust in carnal arms ; for we know that there is no trusting princes, and that he is cursed who makes flesh his arm §.” With respect to the spirit of his opposition, assuredly those who recognised him as their champion, were not men who would have done so, if he had evinced the disposition of which the moderns accuse him. “I

* S. Thom. Epist. ccxv.

† Epist. cccix.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. lxxxi.

§ Epist. cxiv.

see," says Peter of Blois, writing to John of Salisbury, "that you are placed between the anvil and the hammer; but if truth doth not lie, the end of your persecution will be interminable beatitude. It is a great gift to suffer for Christ. To you it is given, not alone that you should believe in Him, but also that you should suffer for Him. I congratulate you, therefore, if you do this from the motion of reason and justice, not with the thought of revenge, or the desire of injuring another; you must do nothing from rancour or hatred, but every thing in charity; for you will not gain this sheaf of salvation from your persecutions, unless your whole intention proceed from the most inward charity. The mind of him who prepares himself to endure persecution must first be softened with the oil of charity, that in sufferings he may never fall from it, nor turn against his brethren with an unholy flame*." Thus did these priests admonish each other; so that when John of Salisbury, who received these admonitions, which to our ears might sound like an intimation of his requiring them, proceeds to administer them in his turn to St. Thomas, we must not suppose that they were more applicable to the latter than to himself. It is true, on one occasion, he reproves the severity of the archbishop's language. "Having read your letters to William of Pavia, though I do not dare to judge the mind of the writer, I cannot approve of the style, for they do not seem to me to sound humility, or to proceed from the mind of a man who hears the Apostle saying to the disciples of Christ, *Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus*; for you seem to write through bitterness, rather than through charity†." But this criticism only proves the tender solicitude of a friend, and the extreme caution of holy men, in the ages of faith, to avoid the least appearance of evil. If St. Thomas be guilty of pride and a desire of usurpation, can St. Ambrose be excused, who assuredly, under his circumstances, would have acted with even more promptitude, and would not have shrunk from uttering a single word that ever escaped the lips or pen of his glorious fellow-combatant? No; let us continue to hear the counsels of his contemporaries without betraying such folly as to imagine, for an instant, that we shall be able, by means

* Epist. Pet. Bles. xxii.

† Joan. Sar. Epist. lix.

of them, to bring down this colossal hero to the level of our own stature, and inflict a wound upon his blessed memory.

"Perhaps," says John of Salisbury to him, "God, for your greater perfection, wishes you to live in the midst of those who seek your life to destroy it. Ought you not, then, to acquiesce in such a condition? But some one will say that it is presumptuous to expose yourself to hostile swords, and that it will be more cautious to wait until you have done penance for your sins, for that your conscience is not yet fit for martyrdom. To whom I answer: No one is not fit, excepting the man who does not wish to suffer for faith, and for the works of faith; it matters not whether he be a boy or an adult, a Jew or a Gentile, a Christian or an infidel; for, whoever suffers for justice is a martyr; that is, a witness for justice, an assertor of the cause of Christ. But why do I say this? Because I know, what my mind presages, that the king is not yet recovered, so that you can be secure; and, because the archbishop of Rouen thinks fit to say, that whatever you do is through arrogance and anger, you must meet his opinion by showing moderation in deeds as well as in words, in gesture as well as in habit, which indeed is of little avail with God, unless it proceed from the secrets of the conscience*." Again, writing to his brother Richard, he says, "In this conflict of power and of law, the archbishop ought to proceed with such moderation, following law, being led by grace, and assisted by reason, as neither to seem to be guilty of temerity against the power which God has ordained, nor to consent to iniquity through fear of power, or through love of evanescent goods, to the depression of the Church, so as to be counted a deserter of his office to the ruin of present and future generations, a prevaricator of his profession, and an impugner of justice†." In fine, when desiring the archbishop to send some one of his clerks to the bishop of Chalons, he gives an injunction to conduct himself with great modesty," adding, "because the men of this nation are modest‡." Moreover, the archbishop repeatedly declared that advice of this kind was only conformable to his own

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxiii.

† Epist. xxxvi.

‡ Epist. xxi.

intentions. "Your legates," he says to Pope Alexander, "require us to evince humility and moderation as the only qualities by which we can appease such a prince; and we reply to them, that most willingly and devoutly we shall show to him, as to our lord and king, all humility, and service, and devotion, saving the honour of God and of the Apostolic See, and the liberty of the Church, and the honour of our own person, and the possessions of the Church. And if it should seem to them that any thing is to be added to these, or to be taken from them, or changed, we will answer as they may advise us *." In his letter to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, he says, "To speak, as before God, whom we expect as our Judge, and invoke that He may judge our cause, although we have greatly loved our king, and waited on his nod, with all our strength, before the priesthood was imposed on us, yet without consciousness of crime, being unwilling to consent to him in things injurious to God and to the Church, we have opposed him for God; choosing rather by offending to recall him to pardon, than by flattering to precipitate him into hell. The cause is not against us, but between him and God; for we have sought nothing else from him but what God has left to his Church by an eternal testament †." In such language it would be hard to detect arrogance or disloyalty; and indeed his contemporaries bear express witness to the "great humility, meekness of spirit, and serenity of countenance" with which the archbishop replied to those who spoke for the king at Gisors, when their express object was to provoke him to indignation, and induce him to answer less wisely, and with less humility ‡.

CHAPTER X.

"*MULTÆ tribulationes justorum, et de his omnibus liberavit eos Dominus.*" Such are the words with which the Church introduces the memory of some of her blessed

* St. Thom. Epist. cxiv.

† Epist. clxxi.

‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. lxxvii.

martyrs, which we shall see verified still more abundantly as we proceed to speak of the sufferings endured for the sake of justice by those who had commission to turn and to watch these wheels, on the movement of which depended the free action of religion and the liberty of the Church.

In many respects, the difference in the lot of men on earth was no mystery to the observers of the middle ages, who, not alone as monks and philosophers, but as mere thoughtful pilgrims, were accustomed often silently to account for it to themselves, as they contrasted the magnificence and repose of the rich and powerful man in his princely abode, which arrested their attention, as they walked or rode along, with the humiliations and distress of some wise and virtuous victim of oppression, who they remembered was in the meanwhile bearing his heavy cross, far removed perhaps and concealed from every human eye but that of the agent of the persecutor. Not unfrequently, while the seigneur was enjoying the pleasures and the pride of life within his ancestral towers, the bishop or abbot, perhaps as noble and nobler than himself, since the crosier was often swayed by men of royal blood, was pining in some obscure dungeon, or exposed to the harassing annoyances of a thousand ignoble persecutors in distant cities, who were incensed against him on account of his daring to stand up in defence of the liberty of the Church, which, we must remember, comprised the material and spiritual interests of the people, as in detail it entered into innumerable questions of a most humble seeming, which agitated each parish, as well as the most solemn councils of the state.

Let us suppose travellers in the middle ages, like Sir Espaing de Lyon and Froissart, riding on their way, and discoursing concerning the different objects which struck their attention as they passed from the lands of one count to those of another, traversing rivers, woods, and mountains ; mundane perhaps in their mind too often, still at times pensive, even devout, as when the sight of a cross, like that on the spot where the two squires fell, moved those riders to say for the souls of the dead a *Pater-noster*, an *Ave-maria*, and *De profundis*, with a *Fidelium*. How many castles, how many monasteries, how many noble churches, met their view ! Lo, near them, one pile

more prominent than the rest, rising in stern majesty over the woods: there dwells at ease some puissant seigneur. Could you mount those battlements, your eyes would survey a glorious prospect; you would discern over the forest a noble river that bounds on one side his ancestral domains; beyond which rises the blue chain of mountains, which form the horizon toward the west. Could you view the halls and galleries within, you might think that here was luxury itself enthroned. What can be wanting to the transport of his days? what difficulties has he but those which he seeks for himself? what cause concerns him but some interest of temporal and material vanity? Now let them bend their eyes in another direction, and they will see some lofty spire, or some vast irregular pile of high steep roofs, announcing the sanctuary where the bishop or abbot is or ought to be residing. But if they ask concerning him, mournful looks or piteous ejaculations will lead them soon to collect that he is in exile or in prison. Yet piety had prepared for him too an august and admirable habitation. He also might have had delights and honours, continuing to enjoy "the friendship of his king" and of his powerful neighbours; but a proud choleric prince, or some petty tyrant on the mountain near, was to be opposed; for some poor man had been wronged: brute force was used to suppress some right of nature, or violate some sanction of the holy Church; perhaps some young innocent prince was cast into prison by a suspicious father, and the bishop of Lescar incurred the wrath of the count of Foix for the sake of his son Gaston, when he had thrown him into the tower of Orthez. Hence, would the travellers exclaim; hence the contrast of their condition! No rest or sweets any longer for the man of God; no more for his eyes the beautiful horizon from embattled heights, but perhaps the obscurity of the hideous dungeon pit, which lies below the rock within them; to whose cavity profound a faint beam can scarcely, when the sun is highest, make its way.

It is not necessary to calumniate or exaggerate in order to bring down the rich and powerful of the earth often to the true level to which the calm voice of history and of personal observation consigns them. "Quot et quanti magnates indigeant," says Pope Innocent III., and who

may not confirm the testimony from his own experience? "*ipsemet frequenter experio* *." Germanicus, as Tacitus says, heard the harmonious tones from the statue of Memnon; but every one is not a Germanicus at sun-rise to hear them, and least of all the rich man and the great, who can behold that spectacle without its firing all his faculties with glorious joy. Come evening once again—season of peace! Nor does that soothing lustre of expiring day, nor yet "the radiant planet that to love invites," making all the western serene to laugh, recal his thoughts to charity. As they walk upon those battlements and watch, as I have watched, the sun in splendour indescribable sink upon that river, now a stream of rosy light, empurpling woods and mountains on its shore, and blending them with that western paradise of clouds, little reck they for the bishop or the monk, who in his dark prison is expiating his devotion to the cause of God, of the holy Church, of the wise and free, of the helpless and the poor. Alas! what feels his heart the while! Yet does he not refuse thus, for Christ's sake, through every vein to tremble. Sometimes he suffered merely for defending the patrimony of the poor against unjust and violent neighbours, whose persecutions may be conceived from the number of laws of emperors "*de rebus Ecclesiarum injuste invasis*." This was a sacred duty. By the canons of the council of Arles in 540, it was decreed, that if a clerk should deteriorate any of the goods with which the bishop had intrusted him, he should, if young, be corrected by the discipline of the church, and if old, be regarded as an assassin of the poor."

St. Theodard, bishop of Maestricht, having undertaken a journey in 669 to the court of Childeric II. in Austrasia, in order to obtain from him restitution of the goods of his Church, which had been usurped by some lords, the usurpers assassinated him on his road in the forest of Benalt, near Spire. Descendants of men, who, like St. Blaithmaic, son of a king, and abbot of Iona in the eighth century, chose to be massacred by the Danes rather than give up the treasures of the Church, these holy pontiffs and abbots considered death in such a cause as true martyrdom. Oftener, however, it was for defending interests of a kind more immediately spiritual that they suffered persecution. It was for such that Ives de Chartres

* Inn. III. de Cont. Mundi, iii. 8.

lay in prison : it was for such that Hildebert, bishop of Tours, suffered persecution ; who was not singular in his distresses, though, from the poetical description he has left of them, I am tempted to distinguish him as an example. This great man, whose promotions are remarked by Bulæus as an evidence of the genius of the middle ages to love learning, suffered many things, he says, for the name of Christ and liberty of the Church, from Rotocus, count of Mans, by whom he was spoiled of all his goods and cast into prison, where, besides many prose works, he composed elegies and verses to record his own persecution, such as these :—

“ *Nuper eram locuples multisque beatus amicis,
Et risere diu prospera fata mihi.
Sæpe mihi dixi, Quæ sunt tam prospera rerum ?
Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus agger opum ?
Hei ! mihi nulla fides, nulla est constantia rebus !
Res ipsæ quid sint, mobilitate docent.
Res hominum atque homines levis aura versat in horas :
Et venit a summo summa ruina gradu.
Quidquid habes hodie, cras te fortasse relinquit,
Aut modo dum loqueris desinit esse tuum.*

• • • • •
*Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
Justitiæ leges expulit a patria.
Inde ratem scando, vitam committo procellis ;
Vela tument, gemina cymba Juvatur ope.
In fragilem pinum totus prope congerit iras
Mundus, et est hostis quidquid obesse potest.
Ecce rapax turbo, tollens ad sidera fluctus,
Impulit ad littus jam sine puppe ratem.
Sic miser et felix, quassa rate, rebus ademptis,
Evassi ventos, æquora, saxa, Jovem.
Ecce quid est hominis ! quid jure vocare paternum,
Quid miser ille sibi plaudere dote potest ?
Hoc est hic hominis semper cum tempore labi
Et semper quadam conditione mori.
Nemo potest rebus jus assignare manendi,
Quæ nutus hominis non didicere sequi.
Jus illis Deus adscripsit, statuitque teneri
Legibus, et nutu stare vel ire suo.
Ipse manens dum cuncta movet, mortalibus ægris
Consultit, et quo sit spes statuenda, docet.
Ille potens mutis, tenor et concordia rerum,
Quidquid vult in me degerat ; ejus ero *.”*

* Bulæus, *Hist. Universit. Paris.* tom. ii.

The tombs of the middle ages too might alone furnish evidence to prove the extent of this persecution. Celebrated is that of the Pope St. Gregory VII. at Salerno. The epitaph on St. Gebhard, archbishop of Salzburg, resembles it; for on this we read,—

“Propter justitiam, toleravit et ipse rapinam
Regis ob hanc odium, fugit in exilium;
Malens ille miser, quam schismatis esse minister.
Hic pro lege Dei nescivit cedere regi,
Vel cuiquam forti, vel quoque dedecori.”

Scarcely in effect a day passed on which the Catholic Church did not gain some new confessor within this order of sufferings for justice. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the contest between the Church and the empire was carried on, as we already observed, every where between each bishop and each seigneur. Of all to speak were vain attempt, for my wide theme so urges that my words fall short of what bechanced: but we may admire the uniformity of circumstances attending each instance. The history of the persecutions suffered by Bandered, bishop of Soissons, in the time of Clothair, when “he was chased from his see without a synod, without judgment of the bishops, by the tyranny of laics,” might seem written to record the events at Cologne and Posen in these latter days; so similar were the magnanimity of the suffering prelate and the grief and resentment of the people irritated by the king’s injustice*. In the lists of these holy sufferers of course the Roman Pontiffs take the lead. Tried by the standard of St. Paul, they proved themselves pre-eminent as ministers of Christ in every age. Thus the emperor Constans, at the time of the Monothelites, choosing to impose silence on what he termed the two parties, the Pope St. Martin, for having condemned that heresy, was made prisoner, dragged as a culprit to Constantinople, and thence, after innumerable cruelties, banished to the Tauric Chersonesus, where death put an end to his sufferings. It would be long to cite instances.

“All have risen and conspired against us,” said St. Gregory VII. in his last appeal to Christendom, “only because we would no longer be silent amidst the dangers

* Acta Sanct. Bolland. i. August.

of the times ; only because we would no longer endure the attempts to reduce the Church to servitude." On the 25th of May, in the year 1085, this holy Pope, whose whole pontificate had been a trial of sufferings, mental and bodily, from the rage of his enemies, closed at Salerno his earthly career ; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter with his departing breath the words, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile *."

Who could describe the sufferings of other supreme Pontiffs in the same cause ! Urban II. at one time was so deprived of all resources that he was obliged to subsist on the alms of the faithful. In all these trials the whole body of the Church participated. During the contest between St. Gregory VII. and the empire, many fled into cloisters ; and the abbeys were filled with prelates, noblemen, and warriors. According to the expression of a contemporary, the cardinal Deusdedit, Henry, and his instrument Guibert, renewed the persecution of Nero. All who would not embrace their party were maltreated or plundered. From the bishoprics, churches, and abbeys the Catholic priests were expelled, being replaced by vicious and ignorant clerks. Within two years no less than ninety thousand men were reduced to the greatest extremities, or put to death by Henry and his coadjutors †." At one time nearly all the Catholic bishops of Germany were obliged to seek safety in flight.

Among the prelates of the Western Church none, however, were more tried by persecution than those who ruled the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc, who, as primate, was doomed to behold without being able to prevent the frightful tyranny of William the Conqueror and of his barons, the misery of the people and the oppression of the Church, prayed for death, and implored the Pope, but in vain, to relieve him from the burthen of the episcopacy ‡. St. Thomas says that the authority of the Apostolic See would have perished in England long before his time if the church of Canterbury had not opposed herself to princes. "Rarely," he adds, "has any one governed that church without suffering for justice either the sword, or the grief of exile, or the injury of proscrip-

* Paul Benried, c. 4.

† Döllinger, iii. 312. Dr. Cox's Tr. ‡ Döllinger, iii. 312.

tion *." "To pass in silence," he says, "over our other illustrious predecessors, whose learning and example edified the Church, the late archbishop Theobald was twice banished from his see and country for his faith and obedience ; king Stephen persecuting him, because he went, contrary to his royal command, to the council of Rheims, at the call of Pope Eugene, while the other bishops disobeyed him, and remained at home, in compliance with the king's order. Thus it has ever been ; while the archbishops of Canterbury have sometimes shed their blood for the law of God, and at others offered it to their persecutors. So great were the difficulties and perils to which our immediate predecessor exposed himself, in resisting these customs now imposed on us, and attending the council in spite of the king's prohibition, that the Pope returned him thanks in full council, because, to use his words, '*Natando potius quam navigando ad concilium venerat* †.'" "What is never or rarely recorded of another see," observes Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, "Canterbury has always had its bishops confessors either crowned by martyrdom for the faith of Christ, or exiled and proscribed for justice and the liberty of the Church. So that he who now rules it does but fill the measure of his fathers, being now, for the honour of God, in the fifth year of his banishment, suffering not like them only in his own person, but in his whole house, with all his relations and friends ; an addition of cruelty unprecedented in history or in the memory of the living †." The records of this Church indeed were not wanting in tragic episodes : let us observe briefly some of the details. William Rufus had usurped the ecclesiastical revenues, and forbid an election of bishops to vacant sees ; so that after Lanfranc's death Canterbury was left five years without a pastor, while the monks were unceasingly harassed by the royal officers. Falling sick at Gloucester, in a fit of remorse and terror, he named St. Anselm to the vacant see, who only consented to acquiesce on the condition of the king's restoring what he had seized from the Church, and recognising Urban II. as the legitimate Pope. But the king soon resumed his former habits, and then began the persecutions of Anselm ; for the holy

* St. Thom. Epist. clxv.

† Epist. lxxxiv.

‡ Epist. cxiv.

archbishop refused to give up the property of the poor, and required the king to permit abbots to be elected, that vacancies might cease, and bishops to hold councils to reform abuses. The king endeavoured to depose him, and to prevent other bishops devoted to the court from obeying him. The nobles were firmer than the bishops, and refused to withdraw their obedience from the primate. Then the king sent ambassadors to Rome, with promises of an annual pension if the Pope would depose Anselm; but the legate, who came into England, declared it impossible, and transmitted him the pallium. Finding the king still bent on oppressing the church of Canterbury, St. Anselm, despairing of his own power to prevent abuses, after in vain seeking permission to leave England, fled in disguise of a pilgrim to France, and thence to Rome, where he begged the Pope to accept his resignation of the see; but the Pope ordered him to retain it, saying, "A courageous man ought not to abandon his post." Afterwards, at the council of Bari, finding the Pope about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the king, he threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to suspend it. He found, however, that he could not recover his see as long as the king lived; of whose terrible death he was informed when in the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne. On the accession of Henry I. he returned to England; but the new king required from him the investiture of his dignity, which the saint could not grant; the late council having expressly forbidden it. While the king saw his crown in danger from his brother Robert, he was liberal in promises to St. Anselm, who in fact, by his influence, confirmed it on his head; but when the storm was past, he resumed his schemes of enslaving the English Church, by arrogating the right of investiture to benefices. St. Anselm went again to Rome with the royal consent; and the Pope Paschal I. having given sentence against the king, St. Anselm, on his return, having reached Lyons, received orders from the king not to enter England. He retired to the monastery of Bec, where the difference being at length arranged, he was permitted to return to England in 1106; but it was only to prepare himself for death, where, after a sickness of three years, he terminated his glorious career. Such is the outline of

the history. Passing now over the second Henry, King Henry III. having exhausted his finances, began to seize the ecclesiastical revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices which were at his nomination, and which he neglected to fill up for that purpose; or when he named any one, his choice was sure to fall on some creature of his own utterly unworthy. St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, not being able to execute a bull of Gregory IX., authorising him to name after a vacancy of six months, escaped from England, and took refuge first at the court of St. Louis, and then in the abbey of Pontigni. After some time he died in exile, and was buried in the monastery in which he had found an asylum.

Other churches, however, found themselves deprived of their pastors by similar persecutions. After the death of Ralph Nevis, bishop of Chichester, in 1244, king Henry III. recommending to that see an unworthy court favourite, whom the ecclesiastical authorities had rejected as unqualified, and Richard de Wiche being preferred to that dignity, who was consecrated the year following, the king seized his temporalities, and caused him to endure during two years many hardships and persecutions. This holy man had accompanied St. Edmund into France, when that primate was exiled, and had remained with him till his death.

But to return to St. Thomas. His property was confiscated: his relations and friends, after being stripped of every thing, were banished to the number of more than four hundred persons, who were made to swear that they would, one by one, visit the archbishop in his retreat to grieve his heart by the spectacle of their woe. The whole orders of Cistercians and Gilbertines were threatened with persecution for receiving him a suppliant to hospitality. This tyrant evinced the rage of Neptune, who was indignant against the Phæacians for furnishing their guests with means to pursue their journey. "For being mindful," he says, "of our office and the judgment of God, and for daring to speak for justice, we are given to be an opprobrium to many, exposed for Christ to all kinds of danger like a mark for arrows, then driven into banishment with all belonging to us, clerks and laics, women and children, young and old; so that neither reverence

of order, nor condition of sex, nor the pitiful state of age, could appease anger or fury. Many of them are now dead in exile, who, since they suffered innocently for justice, we trust are flown away to rest, and have already with the elect received the reward of their labours. But most of them are still waiting for the mercy of God, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Others are held in chains; amongst whom is our religious chaplain, who, for conscience sake, and with the king's consent, remained in England; but, after what they call the appeal, by his commands he is afflicted in prison. All these things we have sustained, trying whether by the patience of meekness we might not mitigate his severity. But the more we suffer, the more his cruelty increases; so that he now publicly confesses that he can be appeased by nothing, unless the Church be exposed to his pleasure, and with the Pope's consent all his perversities be received by all. Therefore, because we do not acquiesce, but say that we must obey God rather than man, he seeks our life, that with it he may take away the liberty of the Church and overthrow in his kingdom the privileges of the Apostolic See. For our sake he has even announced his enmity against the whole Cistercian order, and declared that he will exterminate their houses from his territories unless they eject me—a man banished and proscribed for God and for the liberty of the Church—from Pontigni, whither I came invited by the abbot and brethren*.”

Describing the miserable state of destitution to which his fellow-exiles were reduced, he says to the Pope, “Our persecutors provide sedulously that we should be vexed with expenses and journeys, and so afflicted with wants, that we may become burdensome and odious to the king of the French, who gives us alms among the other poor of Christ†.” “Let the ancient histories,” he says, “be examined; let the deeds of former tyrants be recounted, let the annals of the primitive Church be referred to, you will not easily find an instance among all persecutors, of any one persecuting one man in such a manner, as to extend his rage on account of him against a whole multitude of innocent persons‡.”

* St. Thom. Epist. lxxiii.

† Ep. cxiv.

‡ Ep. clxxxii.

"Now truly," says John of Salisbury, "there is need of courage; for on all sides we hear of terrors; and for the same cause men are suffering losses, insults, blows; they are proscribed, incarcerated, banished; and nearly from the whole Latin world, whence they migrate to the Lord, they seek the reward of their passion, to the advantage of the Church. These are the reports now with us, where he alone is safe whom fury agitates, or whom the Holy Ghost makes a despiser of all temporal things; but whether the world wills it or not, let him be Anathema who loveth not the Lord Jesus, who is blessed above all for ever*."

Among those who suffered with St. Thomas, some deserve especial notice. Henry, bishop of Winchester, was obliged to leave England in the time of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who endeavoured by letters to dissipate his fear of the king's indignation. Radulph de Serra, a gentle, mild, and sociable man, though not belonging to the family of St. Thomas, yet on account of suspicion was banished with him, at an age, as John of Salisbury says, "when he was more fit for burial than for exile†."

Some who remained in England, were compelled to swear that they would receive neither letters nor messengers from those who were in exile. "Miserable necessity," as John of Salisbury says, "when it was not lawful for good men to fulfil the duties of charity according to the commands of our Lord‡."

John of Salisbury, who, as Peter of Blois says, "was the hand and eye of St. Thomas," suffered banishment with him during six years, being his companion in labour and sorrows; and then, as Petrus Cellensis says, "having been besprinkled with the precious blood of that blessed martyr, was made bishop of Chartres." He describes his own sufferings in various letters. Thus to Petrus Cellensis he says, "I wish I could send you more joyful news; but after my return from Rome so many troubles came upon me, that I thought I had never endured adversity until then. Do you wonder what could so disturb me? I will disclose this to your ear in few words. The whole indignation of my

* Joan. Sar. Ep. c.

† Joan. Sar. xv.

‡ Ep. xxvii.

most serene lord, the most powerful king, our invincible prince, has been turned upon me. If you ask the cause, it is perhaps, that I favoured his promotion more than I ought to have done; for which injustice, to which compassion instigated me, God perhaps punishes me now. Alone now I am said to derogate from the royal majesty, for it is thought that my lord of Canterbury only follows my instructions. On which account I am so persecuted, that I regard my banishment as certain. If it be necessary, I will endure that for the sake of justice, not only with equanimity, but with joy *."

Very affecting is his letter afterwards from France to his brother Richard. "Farewell, and affectionately salute for us those whom you know we ought to salute; above all, our mother. Obtain for us the suffrage of prayers, lest the Lord should suffer us to wander from his way, and that He may lead us through adversity and exile, triumphing over the affections of flesh and blood, to despise inferior things, and to compassionate the wretched men who are uselessly occupied with the trash which they collect from the Church's plunder †."

To Pope Alexander he says, "Father, our soul is in bitterness. Some of us dying for the defence of justice, seek revenge of the innocent blood from God and from the Church; others are visited with various punishments; all of us are exiles and proscribed, that we may be compelled to prefer the nefarious traditions of men, to the law of God, and the sanctions of the Fathers ‡."

Then to Milo, the bishop of the Morini, he says, "We the domestics of the archbishop, proscribed indeed as to possessions, but ascribed amongst the faithful, who honour their ministry by suffering for justice, are dispersed as exiles through the kingdom of the Franks, having however Him every where present to us, who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field §." "We have suffered losses, injuries, contumely, and exile. The world reputes this our faith insanity; it calls our constancy pertinacity, our professions of truth it stigmatises with the name of vanity; our piety it endeavours to render vile by the appellation of hypocrisy, or superstition, or of other falsehood. But the prince of the

* Ep. xi.

† Ep. xxxvi.

‡ Ep. lviii.

§ Ep. lii.

Apostles teaches the contrary, "*Hæc est enim,*" as he says, "*gratia apud Deum ; quia in hoc vocati estis in Christo, ut sequamini vestigia ejus **."

The spirit and disposition with which these men carried their crosses in the mystic train of Him whom Mary did bring forth, might furnish further illustrations of the general principles which, in the beginning of this book, we ascribed to the blessed who suffered persecution on account of justice. And first their cheerfulness is remarkable. We might apply to them the old monastic verses by Notker, which describe the holy pilgrims who came to St. Gall as voluntary exiles for God.

" Cumque pro Christo patriam, parentes,
Rura, cognatos, genus, et caducam
Gloriam mundi, simul abdicarent,
Pergere certant.
Corde lætantes, alacres et omnes,
Orbe jam toto celebrata sese
Cominus gaudent adiisse tecta
Plena salutis †."

Hear how St. Anselm speaks of the persecutions of a contemporary prelate. "It is not necessary that I should write concerning the expulsion of lord William, bishop of Winchester, with what joy and thanksgiving, that God should have given him this honour, you will easily understand. For it is greater glory and praise for him with God and good men, to have been plundered and expelled on account of justice, than if he had been enriched with all the wealth and possessions of the world, having violated justice. Let his friends therefore, rejoice and exult, that by no violence, by no fear, he could be subdued, and by no cupidity separated from truth †."

That St. Anselm, during his own persecution, enjoyed the peace and holy joy which he ascribed to others under similar sufferings, is clear from the remarkable fact, that it was during his banishment, and as he says himself in the preface, "in great tribulation," he wrote his celebrated book, "*Cur Deus homo.*" This immortal fruit of a calm

* Ep. xxvii.

† Ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq. ii.

‡ Epist. S. Ansel. lib. iii. 70.

intelligence, and of a peaceful heart, was composed at the time that he durst not send a letter to a friend, lest he should involve him in his own sufferings; for he says to one whom he loved, "I cannot write to you as often as I and you might wish, because though I have opportunities, yet I should fear that offence might be taken by the king, who hates all things from me, and all who love me, and who might rage against the bearer if he knew it *."

John of Salisbury, when threatened with the horrors of exile, and aware how the indignation of Henry II. was kindled against him, was so engrossed with the Paschal solemnities, that he could not answer the letter brought to him from Petrus Cellensis, that generous friend who says to him in one epistle, "If that monster should vomit you from his land, here we have a house prepared for you, where you will find plenty of books, and as much leisure for studying as you can desire †." When the festival was over, he writes to him saying, "The king's return is expected daily; what shall I do? To leave the island seems like flight; to decline meeting my calumniators seems to argue a guilty conscience; not to wait for the king's presence, is to subject myself legally to the penalty of high treason. On the whole, it is better, if possible, to wait the issue at home, where I shall have the happiness of being with friends ‡."

When deprived of these, however, by banishment, he found other resources, for he writes thus to master John Saracen. "I am ashamed altogether to have spoken through weakness of the bitterness of my exile; since although this is the fourth year of my banishment, and the third of my proscription, I am every day less and less disturbed by the tempests of fortune and by losses, knowing for certain that my enemy hath done me no real injury, or rather I should call him my friend, who has opened my eyes to discern the fantastic delusions of fortune, and by delivering me from the vanities of the court, and the seductions of pleasure has impelled me on the way of virtue, and associated me with the throng of the lovers of wisdom. Far more free than when loaded with worldly goods and fortuitous possessions, I

* Lib. iii. Epist. xxv.

† Pet. Cell. lib. v. Ep. 4.

‡ Ep. xii.

experience a joyful condition, I do not say poverty, which philosophy forbids me to call it, for every soil is the country of a brave man, and to a Christian the whole world is a place of exile, while he journeys from the Lord. For the future, therefore, let complaints respecting the illusions of fortune cease, while from agitating philosophic questions we do not cease; and let us look with indulgence on our persecutors, who perhaps know not what they do *." Only the distresses of his friends recalled him to a sense of suffering. "I doubt not," he writes to Raimond of Poitiers, "you would pity me if you knew with what solitudes my mind is agitated; yet it is not, God knows, for myself, though I dwell with the Duricordi, that I am solicitous, but for my friends; because, as far as I am personally concerned, letters would suffice to console me, if others were not constantly urging me, to whose necessities I must communicate. The people of this province of Rheims, you know, are called in old histories the Duricordi, but to us truly they have proved themselves worthy of being styled Mollicordi, while our own countrymen appear to be of the true race of the Duricordi †." In fact, it is but justice to acknowledge that the French generally during the ages of faith deserved the praise bestowed on them by a lawyer in the year 1607, who denominates them "*la plus pieuse et la plus dévote nation du monde ‡.*"

John of Salisbury, referring to his residence at Rheims, says in another letter, "Scarcely without sighs and tears can I recall to mind our dearest brethren and lords who dwell in the house of blessed Remi, remembering how happy I was inhabiting it lately, as if in a paradise, while I enjoyed their presence, and experienced the image of that charity which is hoped for in the eternal life §." "*Francia, omnium mitissima et civilissima nationum,*" as this holy exile terms it ||, could then of itself console the English sufferers for justice. "When I reached Paris," says John of Salisbury, "and saw the abundance of provisions, the joy of the people, the reverence of the clergy, the majesty and glory of the whole Church, and the various occupations of the philosophers, I was filled

* Ep. xlv.

† Ep. xxxii.

‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm. i. 417.

§ Ep. xciii.

|| Ep. lxiv.

with admiration as if I beheld that ladder of Jacob, the top of which was in heaven, furnishing a way to ascending and descending angels, so that I was compelled to exclaim, "vere Dominus est in loco isto;" and that verse also came to my mind, "Felix exilium cui locus iste datur *."

Nor was it only to himself that in his opinion these persecutions proved useful. "Without doubt," he says, "this exile has been of great advantage to my lord of Canterbury, 'quoad literaturam et mores,' and I return thanks for it to Divine Providence, also on my own account †."

With a similar mind, Sir Thomas More declared "that the king's highness had done him great good by taking from him his liberty, by the spiritual profit that, he trusted, he took thereby; so that among all his great benefits, heaped upon him so thick, he reckoned upon his imprisonment even as the very chief."

St. Thomas of Canterbury, from the beginning, was sensible of the immense glory attending such sufferings in such a cause. In fact, that glory had been long before proclaimed by the voice of the Holy See, as when Pope Innocent III. exclaimed, addressing the archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow prelates in exile, in the time of John, "O how meritorious is it before God, and how worthy of praise before men, to prefer spiritual to temporal things, that temporal may give precedence to spiritual things! to exchange one's country for banishment, riches for poverty, honour for injury, quiet for labour! We are not sons of the hand-maiden, but of the free, with the freedom which the only begotten Son of God bestowed on us in our deliverance. I beseech you to consult your own conscience, and it will answer that more tolerable is it for you to endure honourable persecution out of your country, than in your country to suffer the most vile servitude, far worse than that which the people of Israel of old endured in Egypt under Pharaoh †."

To the last act of this sublime drama, which closes for the spectator with scenes of such bitter grief and admirable majesty, I shall only allude in passing, for it has

* Ep. xvii.

† Ep. xxiv.

‡ Inn. III. Epist. lib. xv. 727.

occupied the pencils of great masters, who copied from originals, and I should fear to incur reproach by attempting to represent it with my unworthy hand. Yet, to use the words of John of Salisbury, "thus much in regard to such a gift of the divine dispensation, which excites the admiration of all to the glory of God, and of his martyr, I think ought not to be passed over in silence; namely, that all the circumstances so concurred in the contest of the Pontiff, as to confer an imperishable title on the sufferer, and an eternal disgrace upon the persecutors. For if the person be regarded, it is an archbishop, the primate of the Britons, a legate of the Apostolic See, an incorruptible judge, an asserter of the ecclesiastical liberty, a tower of defence to Jerusalem, and a consoler of the poor. If the cause be considered, none could be more holy or more just than his; if the place, it was in the Church, before the altar, in the arms of priests and monks, that he was offered as a living victim, holy and agreeable to God; if the time, it was during the solemnity of our Lord's nativity, on the day after that of the holy Innocents *."

No martyr in his passion was ever more divinely constant. "I indeed," he said to his murderers, "am ready to die for God, and for the assertion of justice, and the liberty of the Church; but I prohibit you, on the part of Almighty God, and on pain of anathema, to hurt any one else, whether monk, or clerk, or layman, great or small; for they should be free from punishment, as from giving cause they are free; for not to them, but to me it is to be imputed, if they undertook to maintain the cause of the persecuted Church. Death to me is welcome, provided the Church by the shedding of my blood may obtain peace and liberty." In all his tortures the martyr showed an invincible mind; not a word escaped from him, not a groan or cry; nor did he oppose an arm to the striker; but with a wonderful constancy, he held his head immoveably inclined and exposed to the sword until it was finished; and then, falling on the earth, he lay without moving a foot or a hand †."

"Holy Father!" exclaims the archbishop of Sens, addressing the Pope, "a horrible work, an enormous wickedness is accomplished in your days, at which the

* Joan. Sar. Ep. xciv.

† Ep. xciv.

ears of all who hear of it tingle. *Non est auditum in Theman, nec est visum in Chanaan.* Another Herod, sending lictors from his side, feared not to pierce with wounds the sign of the Lord's Passion, and to defame the celestial image. A voice is heard, crying, *Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy servant and martyr, who is slain for the liberty of the Church **."

"The innocent lamb has suffered!" writes Theobald, count of Blois, to the Pope. "The blood of the just man is poured out on the spot where the blood of Christ is offered for our salvation. The king's officers have shed it. I would write more fully, but that I fear my words might be ascribed to hatred; and the bearers of these presents can relate the whole order of this prodigy †."

"A cruel wound is inflicted on the holy Church of God," so writes William, the prior of Grandmont, "by the killing of the holy primate. But what remedy is there now? It is not he who is slain that is to be pitied, but he who slew him. For the slain there is a crown prepared; for the slayer, hell, which already opens its expansive jaws to swallow him up alive †."

"I write to you," says William de Trahinac, prior of Grandmont, to king Henry, "not without fear and dread, for if you were the cause, not to say the author, of this crime, I would not and durst not address you §."

Peter Bernard, the ex-prior, writes to him at greater length: "Your crown is tarnished, the roses are faded, and yet, O king! immense is the debt of gratitude which we of Grandmont owe to you; therefore, is it hard for the Christian republic, and, above all, most hard for us to hear of what has happened. You began well; but you have not persevered. What skills it to be praised by men, if you be despised by God as reprobate? The light of grace, which alone gives serenity, is obscured in you. You are blinded by the flattery of your courtiers, who now, with damnable silence, will permit you to perish. What word is this that sounds to the poor of Grandmont? You promised to Father Simon, to the prior of the Carthusians, and to me, that you were ready to re-establish the lord archbishop Thomas in your king-

* S. Thom. Epist. cccxxiii.

† Epist. cccxx.

‡ Epist. cccxvi.

§ Epist. cccxxi.

dom, provided he evinced humility towards you before the people. He did a hundred times what you demanded, and he lies in the heart of the earth! We have heard from the ground a voice of blood crying to God, 'How has the word of the king failed?' but such are these rich men. If you do them service, their grace is light as a feather; if any fancied wrong, their anger is like lead. O favour of princes! what are you to us! Trust not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom is no salvation. O revered sacred martyr, introduced to the marriage supper of the Lamb! O blessed Pontiff, whose soul is in Paradise, safe from all thy enemies, and from those who hated thee without a cause! Good God! we have heard with our ears, and our fathers the archbishops of Rheims and of Sens, the lord John of Poitiers, and the lord Bernard, bishop of Nevers, have related to us the crime, not of the king of England, but of this nefarious murderer. Far be it from him to have required such a deed, who bears the sword only for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them who do well! Remember, my lord, the oath which you took at your consecration on the twentieth day of December in 1154. 'I, Henry, promise before God and his angels, law, justice, and peace to the Church of God, and to the people.' Is it thus that you observe justice? They say that it is you who have perpetrated this atrocious parricide? We, though in ignorance, already mourn for you, dreading to hear what we wish we had never known. How is the fine gold tarnished? The best colour changed? You built and endowed our churches, and now you have struck the shepherd of the Church, and scattered the sheep of the Catholic fold, and, what is incredible, by murder! Many are the benefits you have conferred upon us; but for all these, what reward will you now have? The prophet of God has declared it. All will be forgotten. In vain have you laboured building cells, in which a few men may reside, by the waters of the blood that is shed, weeping when they remember your zeal for our Sion. To build to-day and to destroy to-morrow, *Quid est aliud quam animam tuam in vanum accipere?* I wish, I wish, that you had never done us good. I wish that I might have perished under anathema, for the safety of your crown; but God, the just Judge and the strong, who arms his creature

to avenge his cause, will have blood for blood. I see the bitter zeal of sons rising against their father's sceptre. God grant that I may prophesy falsely; meanwhile prepare your soul for tribulation*. *Peccatum peccavit Jerusalem, propterea instabilis facta est.* There is no peace in the bones of the king, by reason of his sins, for the powerful will suffer torments in proportion to their power, and the Eternal Judge fears the greatness of no one. The thorns of our desert have a sharp tongue; not without puncture do they speak; but they pierce in order to excite compunction. Let them sell in another place their oil of flattery for sinners. The words of courtiers are soft, yet are they darts. I wish that I might be a worthy minister of the New Testament, coming to you with hard words, to excite contrition, and to be cruel in order to show mercy. While we thus address you, lofty son, seeking not to flatter you, as we owe you no flattery, we shall, perhaps, excite your indignation against us. I fear nothing; nor do I count my life more precious than myself. It is better for me to incur that indignation, and by two old men, accused of evil days, to fall without evil works, into the hands of men, than with my murdered lord of Canterbury into the hands of the living God, which the doctor of the nations believed to be something horrible. Perish our temporal goods, even though by me, provided thy eternal soul be not lost, for which Christ died, the just for the unjust. Farther to proceed, and longer to converse with you, I am forbidden. I dread the contagious wound of excommunication in your soul, lest my soul should catch the infection; for Paul, writing to the Corinthians, prohibits me to communicate in any thing with the avaricious and rapacious; and the disciple whom Jesus loved forbids me to say, Hail to him who bringeth not with him the doctrine of charity†. You must understand, therefore, that we can no longer have any communication with you, until you wash away the stains of your soul. In Jerusalem there was a pool of probation, in which, on the moving of the waters, they who descended into them were healed. There are at Rome, too, pools of Siloë; since there, the Apostolic See receives sinners to repentance. Go then to these pools

* Two years later the prophecy was fulfilled.

† 2 Joan. 10.

of Siloë! Hasten! make no delay! There is peril in delay! Wash seven times! Let the wretched and pitiful ruins of your soul be purged with a sevenfold ablution; by confession, by tears, by fasting, by satisfaction, by discipline, by pilgrimage to holy places, and by alms, redeem your sins, and console the Church whom you have made a widow, that she may pray for you. We, indeed, shall cease not praying for you, night and day, that preventing His face by confession, you may return to the Lord, if perchance He may hear you and cure you. Forget us. There is nothing more in common between you and us. He who feeds the fowls of the air, will take care of us. We do not expect any letters from you. We do not ask for any. Write no more; for your name is blotted out of the book of the living. Let us not see your face, nor that of any of yours, scorched with the lightning of excommunication, lest being made participators of malediction, we should be separated with you from the grace of God, without which we can do nothing. If you wish to find us, return, return to our heavenly Father, in whom and by whom we live, and move, and have our being, and say to Him, in a spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart, 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven and against thine.' Nothing more do I ask from you. Have pity thus upon your soul, appeasing God. The people of Grandmont will wait until your change cometh, seeking from God, who giveth food to all flesh, the bread of grace for you in sackcloth and ashes, made obedient unto God. In our prior-general, I thus speak to you and exhort you in Christ Jesus our Lord. The strict Judge, though all things are bare and open to His eyes, says that He will make inquiry with lights, as to the works of Jerusalem, which He so dearly loves. Then what will He do to the reprobate? *Malos male perdet*, are the words of the Gospel; *qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit**."

This is not merely a voice from the desert, which found no echoes in the society of men. Immediately the whole Church proclaimed, that the cause was decided respecting the title of the holy archbishop. Miracles attested by such eye-witnesses as John of Salisbury seemed to dispense even with the delay of waiting for

* Epist. cccxxiii.

the authority of the Roman Pontiff, before invoking the new martyr. John of Salisbury says "that he should fear to offer up prayers for his soul, lest such a devotion should have the appearance of doubting their reality, or of disrespect to the blessed martyr*." On the eve of his passion, he had been great indeed on earth; but with a perishable grandeur which one false step might have overthrown. But from the moment when he fell at the foot of the altar, he soared above the earth as high as heaven, placed beyond the limits of human fragility, above the reach of his enemies, like the sun, which all the dust that we make here below cannot obscure†." Churches on the farthest shores of Christendom were placed under his invocation. That which stands on the Lilybæan promontory is enriched with particles of his brains that were scattered. Its origin was deemed providential; for a ship laden with Corinthian columns for building his church, while sailing to England was driven here by violent winds, and so with these columns thus divinely sent, the church was constructed‡. Moreover, by the shedding of his blood, the Church gained liberty; for the king, to obtain reconciliation, bound himself to abolish the statutes of Clarendon, and all the evil customs introduced in his days, and to moderate, according to the counsel of religious men, those that might have previously existed. He promised also to make restitution of the ecclesiastical property, and to receive to peace all who, on account of the archbishop, had incurred his displeasure§. The struggle, of course, which must be interminable, was only suspended for a time. It was never to end: it was ever with tears and fortitude to be begun anew. At each epoch the monstrous drama was represented; in later times, perhaps, relieved by the greater audacity of the temporal power, as in England under Henry VIII., and in Russia under Nicholas, where the law declares, like the Persian edict, in the year 379, that "it is folly to desire to have any other religion, than that of the great king;" but the immediate result was no

* Epist. xciv.

† Ozanam, Deux Chanceliers d'Anglet.

‡ li. 883. Sicilia Sacra.

§ S. Thom. Epist. cccxxiii.

less confirmatory of the old experience respecting the fruits which are to be expected from such seed.

Reader, now we need repose; our eyes are cloyed with views of tyranny, and deeds of death done on the innocent. Enough has been adduced to clear from wrong the memory of the glorious Pontiff Thomas, who, as the Church says in her solemn prayer, fell by the swords of the impious; who, in some histories, lies yet prostrate under envy's cruel blow,—enough to justify her applying to him and to others who suffered from a similar cause, the words which she sings upon his festival. “*Hic est vere martyr, qui pro Christi nomine sanguinem suum fudit: qui minas judicium non timuit, nec terrenæ dignitatis gloriam quæsit, sed ad cœlestia regna pervenit.*”

CHAPTER XI.

THUS have we seen how many various elements of hostility, which separately were employed in animating men against the Catholic Church, in its collective capacity, as well as against its members, one by one, have existed in past ages. We are now about to witness the combined action of these elements giving rise to a persecution more terrible and extensive than any which had before assailed the Church of God, and which, after abruptly closing for some countries the Ages of Faith three centuries ago, continues to afflict the world at the present day, as it will continue, probably, till the end of time; since its development assumes the last form under which the principle of opposition can be manifested; since it comprises all errors, and is, in fact, the last expression of all possible resolutions contrary to truth and love.

Pythagoras, as long as he conversed promiscuously with every one, is said to have been graciously received by men; but after he had begun to confine his conversation to his disciples alone, the public favour left him; and from that time he had always enemies who plotted

against him. If the Catholic religion had not had its distinct initiations and its exclusive pale, "within which," as St. Augustin says, "all were as one man, on account of the unity of the body of Christ *," there is no doubt that it would have been spared much suffering from its infancy: the pagans would have permitted it to exist in peace amongst their own various but not discordant religions; and, under various forms, it might have survived to a late period, undistinguished by any particular persecution, further than what it might draw down by its natural justice. The powers of the world at all times seek to assimilate to themselves whatever is near. If they could have contrived, therefore, to effect the identification of the Church with themselves and with their own systems, they would have extended their friendship to it; but because it could never consent to this union, but declared that it must always retain independence, they united to persecute it. Truly remarkable in this respect is the constant recurrence of the same phenomenon. "Nam de secta hac notum est nobis, quia ubique ei contradicetur," said the Jews at Rome to St. Paul†; words precisely similar to those used in reference to the Catholic religion at the present day, when it is the only religion frowned upon and suspected by rulers, who, like Frederic the Great of Prussia, find it the sole obstacle to the realization of their plans. It is well said, that "the battle of belief against unbelief is the never-ending battle." From the first the hostility of the whole human race seemed to be turned upon Christians. "Hic erit crimen," said Tertullian, "ubi veritas et Dei devotio est ‡." "Apud vos," he says again to the Gentiles, "quodvis colere jus est præter Deum verum." So it continued to be, even within the Christian world, after schism and heresy had risen up. It is true the empire, the state had become Christian, professedly: "Formerly," says St. Augustin, "it was a crime to reply to a pagan, and now it is a crime to remain a pagan §." Nevertheless, at that time and to the present hour, innumerable men regarded the Church with pagan eyes, and required the admonition of that holy doctor: "Noli habere oculos paganorum: Christianos oculos habe ||." Obedience to

* In Ps. ciii.

† Act. xxviii.

‡ Apol. 30.

§ In Ps. lxxxviii.

|| St. Aug. in Ps. lvi.

the true authority still constituted a crime, against which all who were not faithful instinctively united ; so that with impunity men might profess any religion, and even hold all the Catholic doctrines separately, as Lactantius says, the heathen sects of philosophers did *, and, as the heretical sects continue to do, provided they did not yield obedience to the Chair of Peter, and hold all these truths together in the Catholic faith. For those who did embrace all truth and hold to that chair, the old examples of the heathen emperors were revived : the world was again to behold Catholics persecuted by men " of the most amiable and philosophic character," as Gibbon says, " and according to the laws of kings, distinguished by the wisdom and justice of their general administration." Men not unworthy of being compared with Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, and Decius, would unite with tyrants such as Nero in persecuting them ; while authors, comparable perhaps to Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch, Galen, Epictetus, and whole universities collectively, would be as obstinate as a Lucian and a Porphyry, and the various schools of pagan philosophy, in overlooking or rejecting the wisdom of their faith. This singular union of all discordant elements, when once directed against the Catholic religion, has been observed in all ages and under great diversity of circumstances.

" The heretics cannot agree amongst themselves," said St. Ambrose, " but against the Church they agree †." When St. Francis Xavier and his companion Fernandez began to preach in Japan, in presence of the bonzes, these men, who were divided into seven or eight different religions, and who were continually disputing with each other, no sooner heard the divine law announced, than they all united against it, and forgot their private disagreements to oppose it with all their force ‡.

The same quality of assimilation, when subjected to the presence of the Catholic faith, existed in all those heterogeneous elements which formed the varieties of heresy, while it gnawed itself as one with rage distracted. Gibbon says that the Jews would have been scorned by Julian, if their implacable hatred of the Christians had

* Lib. x. de Divin. c. 7.

† Lib. i. de Fide, c. 4.

‡ Bouhours, Vie de S. V. X. xi. 43.

not entitled them to his friendship; so wherever there was seen a hatred of Rome, the shrewdest and most moderate of the reformers recognised their brethren, even though their opinions, like those of Almerick de Bene, might justly be qualified, as were his by the fourth council of Lateran, as being not so much heretical as insane. "These are the heretics against the Catholic faith," says Isidore, "condemned by the holy councils, which, though divided among themselves, agree in common conspiracy against the Church of God*." Raban Maur concludes his catalogue of heresies with the same words†. This negative unity in hatred appeared also in the heretics of the middle ages. "They are divided into sects amongst each other," says Reinerius in his treatise against the Waldenses; "but in attacking the Church they are united. When the heretics are in one house they cannot agree; each condemns the other: but in impugning the Roman Church they act together‡."

Similarly combined against Catholics were all those whose faction was their religion; "whose combinations," as Clarendon says, "were not entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consisted of mere glutinous materials of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice," which made them cling inseparably together while protesting against Rome. "Thus the evil," as St. Augustin says, "even while murmuring against the evil, which they cannot avoid doing; for one person in health will more easily endure two sick persons than two sick each other§," unite with the evil, so far as combining against this one cause. In regard to every other, Satan can eject Satan, as St. Bernard remarks; but here shade can protect shade. "Umbra protegit umbram," as blessed Job says of the wicked; while the Spirit of truth, which can never be contrary to itself, can accept of no combination to deliver men from persecution, but what is compatible with the light of the Sun of justice.

To express the sufferings of Catholics in defence of religion, St. Augustin condescends to use a familiar image, saying, "Beyond comparison is the truth of Christians

* Isidori Etymolog. lib. viii. 5.

† Rabani Mauri de Institut. Clericorum, lib. ii. 58.

‡ In Bibl. Pat. Max. xxv. 262.

§ In Ps. xxv.

more beautiful than the famed Helen of the Greeks; and beyond comparison have our blessed martyrs fought for it against the world, more courageously than did the heroes of Greece for Helen against Troy." In fact, when the modern philosophy arose, to embrace that truth was to embrace persecution; "*magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei, quam temporalis peccati habere jucunditatem* *." What St. Augustin says would take place at the end of the world seemed to have already commenced. "Both parties were in all nations; one which oppressed, the other which was oppressed: one which said peace and security, the other in which the sun was obscured and the moon deprived of her light, in which the stars fell and the powers of heaven were shaken †." Miserable times of division arose in which, as Richard of St. Victor says, "scarcely would any one man agree with another, unless it was against the Lord and against His Christ ‡." If the new teachers and the old were tried by the rule of St. Paul, and it were asked which had endured most labours, been oftenest in prison, had received most wounds, had been most frequently in danger of death, had been in greatest perils from the Gentiles and from brethren; which had suffered most persecution, in fasting and afflictions, in cold and nakedness, there could have been no difficulty in determining which were the children of beatitude. "*Le monde veut être trompé*," said a French prince; and it is only those who persist in preventing it from indulging in a voluntary ignorance that are the proper objects of its persecution.

Reader, we have now reached the sad confines of a shade congenial with discourse on bitter contrasts to the peace of blessed men in ages of faith.

— "And, lo! by slow degrees
Gath'ring, a fog makes tow'rds us, dark as night.
There is no room for 'scaping; and this mist
Bereaves us, both of sight and the pure air,
Hell's dunnest gloom, or night unlustrous, dark,
Of every planet 'reft, and pall'd in clouds,
Did never spread before the sight a veil
In thickness like this fog; nor to the sense
So palpable and gross. Ent'ring its shade,
Mine eyes endure not with unclosed lids §."

* Ad Heb. xi. 25.

† In Epist. ad Ezech.

‡ De Gradibus Charitatis, iv.

§ Purg. xiv.

Ah ! well does St. Augustin say, that " the life of faith, which is the day in comparison with the life of the impious, is the night in comparison with that of angels * : its shadows are longer than its gleams. *Tribulationes civitatum audivimus, quas passæ sunt et defecimus : timor et hebetudo mentis cecidit super nos et super liberos nostros.*"

The same drama is again to be represented ; but its former monotony would now be desirable ; for it will have hideous scenes this time which it had not before. Now begin rueful wailings to be heard : now am I come where many a plaining voice smites on mine ear. " The river of blood," as Dante says, " approaches, in the which all those are steeped who have by violence injured." The drama of Luther and Calvin opens, unfolding things incredible to those who witnessed them. " *Dies iste, dies iræ,*" as old writers cry, " *dies calamitatis et miseriæ.*" The history of Sir Thomas More and of bishop Fisher before Henry VIII., the history of three centuries of persecution by those who consented to his work, is that of the martyrs before the proconsuls, of Athanasius before Julian, of Ambrose before Theodosius, of Chrysostom before Arcadius, of Gregory VII. before Henry IV., of Thomas of Canterbury before Henry II. ; but it is these histories, stripped of every relief from the grandeur and poetry of events and characters. It is not a brilliant meteor which destroys and vanishes ; it is like a lamp of the sepulchral pit that opens daily during a pestilence, which casts a dim melancholy light, but burns ever.

" Brethren," says St. Augustin, of whose words, as of some solemn music, we stand in need to prepare our mind for encountering the objects that will now beset our path, " if we ought not to lift ourselves proudly against the Jews, formerly cut off from the root of the patriarchs, but ought rather to fear and say to God, *Quam timenda sunt opera tua !* how much less ought we to lift ourselves against the recent wounds of those freshly cut off ? The Jews of old were cut off, and the Gentiles grafted in. From that graft the heretics are now cut off ; but neither against these ought we to lift ourselves proudly, lest perchance we should ourselves deserve to be cut off for delighting to insult over the fallen. Brethren, we intreat

* In Ps. lxxvi.

you, whoever you may be, who are in the Church, be not willing to insult those who are not within it; but rather pray that they also may be within it *." Pity, not pride, should move us; for at this day, as St. Augustin says of those born in the party of Donatus, "you find men who know not what is the Church. He holds to where he was born; and you will not overcome his custom, which he has sucked in with his mother's milk. Let us suppose him reading the Scriptures daily, meditating on them, preaching; yet he will not see in them the Catholic Church †." "O hæretica insania," he exclaims, alluding to the diffusion of the Church through all nations; "what you do not see you believe with me; what you see you deny. You believe with me that Christ is exalted above the heavens, which we do not see; and you deny his glory over all the earth, which we do see †." But if we ought not to lift ourselves proudly against the authors of this last great persecution, neither ought we to conceal the history of their deeds, or assent to their apotheosis as heroes to be worshipped; lest, from excuse to excuse, which is the course required for that end, we should be at last obliged to excuse the murderers of Christ. St. Augustin, and Albertus Magnus following him, teach us to repeat, in reference to those who serve under the banner which first announced this war, the Psalmist's words, "Confundantur et revertantur qui quærun animam meam." "What then," they add, "becomes of loving your enemies, of praying for those who persecute you? Lo, you suffer persecution, and you curse those from whom you suffer it. In what manner do you imitate the preceding passion of our Lord hanging on the cross, and saying, 'Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.' To such, say they, the martyr answers, 'Why do you object this? What have I said of my enemies? Confundantur et revertantur. Such is the revenge already taken on the enemies of the martyrs. Saul, who persecuted Stephen, heard the voice; he is confounded and prostrated, and raised up to obedience, after having been inflamed to persecute. This is what the martyrs wish to their enemies; confundantur et revertantur; for so long as they are not confounded and turned back, they

* In Ps. lxxv.

† In Ps. xxx.

‡ In Ps. lvi.

will defend their actions; they will glory in them; they will rejoice, because they bind, because they scourge, because they kill, because they dance, because they insult. From all these actions let them be confounded and turned back, that they may not excuse them; for if they are confounded they will be converted; nor can they be converted unless confounded and turned back. Let us then wish this to our enemies; we may wish it securely. Lo, I have said it, and to yourselves I have said it. All ye who still dance and sing, and insult the martyrs, may you be confounded and turned back, and within these walls brought to smite your breasts *."

The elements of this persecution are not difficult to analyze, although the results are manifold. Every man who has imbibed them will, in his capacity of an alien from the Catholic faith, partake of the property of Proteus, as all who contend with him discover; for as the old Egyptian, in poetic fabling, became first a lion, afterwards successively a dragon, a panther, a great swine, water, and a lofty tree; so to those who would seize the bold and subtle spirit of heresy, it will seem at one time the symbol of all things brave and royal; it will then terrify by its hideous aspect; it will seduce by its gay colours; it will assume a wild similitude to attract the vile propensities of carnal nature: it will glide away softly as liquid, or it will present a towering form, and seem to reach heaven by its boasted sovereignties.

But let us commence our alchemy, for this is of a kind of which the use will be perpetual. "The pretence is of the spirit," said the clear-sighted bishop Gardiner to Somerset, speaking of the false reformers, "and all is for the flesh,—root of that ill plant whose shade such poison sheds o'er all the Christian land, that seldom now good fruit is gathered." Here then at once we find an ingredient of great use in persecution. The agents were, in fact, like him whom they served, more useful as a persecutor than as a prince and friend,—men whose wine was better than their manners, "*beveurs très-illustrés*," as an old writer says, "*pantagruelisant, c'est à dire, bevans à gré*," whose wisdom in one respect resembled that of Ulysses, agreeing with his opinion that there was nothing better

* St. August. in Ps. lxxix. Albert. Mag. Comment. in Ps. lxxix.

than a banquet, when men are feasting in a house, sitting in order, and hearing singers before tables loaded with food, with cups, and the best wine,

Τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι *,

mere carnal sinners borne abroad by the tyrannous gust of sensuality, men whom St. Augustin compares to dogs and swine, "who would rather pertinaciously bark, than studiously inquire; or who would neither bark nor inquire, but wallow in the defilement of their pleasures †." Such were the elector John, and his son Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, Ernest and Francis of Lunebourg, and Henry VIII.

With this was necessarily joined the covetous desire: for the flesh engenders and expands that cursed flower, that hath made wander both the sheep and lambs turning the shepherd to a wolf. But what else enters into the compound? Error; obliquity of mental vision; distorted or maimed truth, identical with error. Now error is destructive by its nature; it produces nothing; figs are not gathered on thorns, nor on briars grapes. It is in the moral order, an envious sneaping frost that bites the first-born infants of the spring. It must hate, as Catholicism must love: "Ut destruas inimicum et defensorum." "Who is this?" asks St. Augustin, "but the heretic, who is an enemy and a defender, attacking the Christian faith, and seeming to defend it †?" Here is then matter to cause the grand triumph of persecution, of which we still witness the effects. "Quoniam quæ perfecisti destruxerunt." St. Augustin, after citing these words of the Psalm, adds, "This he says against all heretics, for all, as far as in them lies, have destroyed the praise which from the mouth of children and sucking infants God hath perfected; while with vain and scrupulous questions they disturb the little ones, and permit them not to be nourished with the milk of faith. So what thou hast perfected they have destroyed. Where, unless in their conventicles, where the little ones and those ignorant of internal light, they do not nourish with

* Odyss. ix. 5.

† In Ps. ix.

‡ S. Aug. in Ps. viii.

milk, but kill with poison*?" They destroy with doubts; they destroy with such words, as "This is a hard saying:" but as St. Augustin says, "It is they that are hard, not the saying; for if they were not hard, but mild and gentle, it would be as oil to them, so as to penetrate even to their very bones†."

What do they not destroy? Do you suppose that they will spare things because they are sixteen hundred years old, and were dear to the apostles? You little know them. In their spleen and bilious egotism, they will sacrifice these the first. Prayers, processions, signs of the cross, all must be abolished. They cut off sources of tenderness, and shut out from our senses the access to devotion; they remove the image of her whose countenance alone, as a modern writer says, "can suspend our steps on the highway of the world, discourse with us, soften and chasten us, showing us our own unworthiness by the light of a reproving smile‡." If they leave the evening dance upon the green, (for, unless under Calvin's ephemeral theocracy, nature will be too strong for them,) they will not suffer the bells that used to announce the hour of benediction to interrupt it suddenly, nor the hands that joined there to meet together at the portal fountain, and touch the brow reciprocally with its lustral waters: though, as Gardiner said to Ridley, "If holy use were coupled with holy water, there would be more plenty of holiness than there is; but as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as water, fearing lest it should take away sin from us, that which we love so dearly well." The dance continues; the praise which God had perfected they have destroyed. Heresy, styled by the people who first witnessed its effects, "*Ce maudit presche*," has engendered only false minds and hearts without faith, in which generous sentiment is laughed down, and the sanctification of nature systematically excluded, which the thirst of selfish pleasure devours, and which the spleen of doubt and dark suspicion kills. The Pythagorean poet invokes the graces, adding,

* In Ps. x.

† In Ps. xcvi. liv.

‡ Landor.

Σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ γλυκία
Γίνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
Εἰ σοφὸς, εἰ καλὸς, εἰ τις ἀγαθὸς
Ἀνὴρ *.

It was not merely these sweets which fled at its approach : as in the third circle where the poet found himself, its destructive words fell like showers, ceaseless, accursed, heavy, and cold, unchanged for ever, both in kind and in degree, till every flower of the holy world perished and stank all the land whereon that tempest fell.

Fruits it leaves none, but thorns instead, with venom filled. It destroys all that beautiful development of interior love and purity, which had been so long effecting by the Catholic wisdom. It obliterates all traces of that old and simple age, when still the carved monitor and label by every rustic pathway rested safe ; it strips the Church of its ornaments, the country of its institutions, religion of its mysteries, morality of its sanctions, youth of its simplicity, age of its reverence, and even language of its grace. It persecutes mind by taking from it that rule of faith which is essential to its peace, and involving it in a labyrinth of self-contradiction, for, as Pelisson says, “ Before resolving upon the most terrible of all actions, which is to separate from the Church, men are bound by these principles not to trust to what their fathers or grandfathers said, but to examine for themselves both sides of the question, and to verify the facts of both ; which the majority can never do, and yet without doing which it is in vain to talk of being sincere.” It persecutes mind by constantly opposing, like the enemy of men who is qualified in the ordinance of an Armenian king, as he who always says, “ No.” It persecutes, as Sir Thomas More said, by “ a shameless holdness, and an unreasonable railing, with Scripture wrested awry, and made to minister matter to its jesting, scoffing, and outrageous ribaldry, not only against every estate here on earth, and the most religious living, but against the very saints in heaven and the mysteries of God, more especially those of the holy sacrament of the altar ; wearying out all the world by its importunate babblings, and

* Olymp. xiv.

overwhelming them with a weight of words;" "the spreaders of error," he adds, "are always more active than the defenders of the truth. Many are so wearied with sorrow and heaviness to see the world wax so wretched, that they fall into a slumber, and let the wretches alone; but if we would match them, we must watch and pray, and take the pen in hand."

Sister Jeanne de Jussie, in 1534, at Geneva, made the same remark: "The Christians," she says, "began already to lose courage, and day by day to be perverted, and no one dared any longer to say a word *." Subsequently, the lesser cantons of Switzerland, before rallying to defend themselves, gave utterance to their despair in these words: "Since all is denied us, since we have so long endured this violent anguish, pride, and iniquity, without the least prospect appearing of an end, we are constrained to address our complaints of you to God, to his holy Mother, to the whole heavenly court, and to all who have any regard for truth and justice †."

It persecutes the intelligence, by substituting the authority of a great name for that of the Catholic Church; for, as St. Augustin says, "heresies are not caused by men of little minds. Only great men, great but evil, make heresies. It persecutes by exclaiming, 'Magnus ille vir, magnus ille homo,' What a man was Donatus! what a man was Arius †!" Leaving it for those of their train to cry,

"Le peuple aveugle et faible est né pour les grands hommes,
Pour admirer, pour croire, et pour nous obéir §."

It persecutes by the proud display of their prosperity, by repeating, "It is well with us; we are rich and happy in this life: depart from us those who promise what they cannot show ||." It persecutes also by its prodigies of assurance, by its imperturbable reliance on exploded errors: by a specious sophistry, however, it may soften to a paralogism on the lips of some. Great errors in religion have almost always been grounded on a pretended great clearness. What plainer, said the Arians,

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i.

† Id. 233.

‡ In Ps. cxxiv.

§ Voltaire, Mahom. i.

|| In Ps. cxxii.

some of whom were men of great talents and learning, and of a reproachless life, than these words, "The Father is greater than I!" To avail ourselves of Timon's words, "If a theory has many faces, the one false, the other true," heresy "groups them, mingles them, makes them play and glitter before you with so quick a hand, that you have not time to catch the sophism in its passage, Whether the disorder of its expression, the incoherent agglomeration of so many heterogeneous propositions be an effect of its art or not, certainly of all eloquence, its refutation is the easiest when you read it, the most difficult when you hear it; you feel as those who, piercing not the drift of the answer made them, stand as if exposed in mockery, nor know what to reply. No one can better mimic the victim; sometimes it emits from its bosom the deepest sighs at the perversity of opinions: it is also the gentlest of beings; and the moment when you think it caresses you, it seizes you in its claws!"

Its objections, eloquently stated, and mixed up with truth and falsehood, are addressed to whatever is most elementary and gross in the human reason, and hence vulgar minds are dazzled by them. It never pretends to innovate. It introduces novelty under the mask of antiquity. It appeals to the ancient doctrine to condemn the doctrine of the time. At these clamours, the intelligent, seeing the crowd pass moved with such transports, mix with it, and accompany the triumpher; the adherents of truth seem like men detected of crime, and for ever disgraced; they suffer persecution of mind; although after the procession criticism may come, which calls gold gold, and brass brass, and which puts back things and men in their true places*.

"Abscondes eos in abscondito vultus tui a conturbatione hominum.—Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo a contradictione linguarum." What is this tabernacle? "The Church," replies St. Augustin, "which is but as the tent of travellers. In this tabernacle they will be protected from the contradiction of tongues. Many tongues contradict: different heresies, different schisms, oppose the true doctrine. Run to the tabernacle of God; hold to the Catholic Church; depart not from the rule of truth, and you will be protected from that contra-

* Timon.

diction of tongues *." Where minds are thus proof, the persecution extends to bodies; though indeed often both are involved together; for, as St. Anselm says, "If from a persecution of the body we are to fly from city to city, how much more are we from a persecution of mind †?" It would be long to tell, as St. Augustin says, "how the martyrs laboured and suffered perils in the great tempests of hatreds in this world, not so much in body, to which they were often exposed, as in faith, lest, yielding to the sorrows of persecution, they should lose what God had promised ‡." One who witnessed the forerunners of this persecution says, "It is the property of the vain science which in our times endeavours to domineer, to seek novelties, and to draw on others to follow it, and to hate and persecute those whom it cannot induce to follow it §."

St. Augustin describes its effects in these words: "There are two kinds of persecution, of those who blame, and of those who praise—vituperantium et adulantium. Plus persequitur lingua adulatoris quam manus interfactoris ||." "Therefore," he continues, "let these also be turned back, who say to me, 'Tis well, 'tis well. For why do they praise me? Let them praise God. For who am I, that I should be praised? With such oil the head of heretics is made fat, when they say, 'Ego sum, ego sum:' and it is replied, 'Tu domine.' They accept the Euge, euge; they follow Euge, euge. They are made blind leaders of the blind. With most clear voices is sung to Donatus that canticle, 'Euge, euge, dux bone, dux præclare;' and he did not say to them, 'Avertantur statim et erubescant, qui dicunt mihi, Euge, euge;' nor did he wish to correct them, that he might say to Christ, 'Dux bone, dux præclare.' But the martyrs say, in the persecution of flatterers, 'Avertantur statim erubescences, qui dicunt mihi, Euge, euge ¶."

In fine, as it is too late to demand instruction, when one knows dissimulation, heresy lapses into a lethargic state, persevering in its destructive opinions, but as incapable of defending as of renouncing them; and then

* In Ps. xxx.

† Ep. xiii.

‡ S. August. in Ps. lxix.

§ Luc Tudens, ii. 3. ap. Hurter, Gesch. Inn. iii.

|| In Ps. lxix.

¶ In Ps. lxx.

the mere exhibition of its misery is a mental persecution of others. "There is in error," says a French orator, "a disposition which fatigues and afflicts with sadness those who combat it with sincere compassion and peaceful love. This is the calm voluntary forgetfulness of the monuments, facts, and multiplied proofs in favour of truth. Proofs are presented and accumulated, and they are let pass like flowing water; a drowsy eye half-opens, scarcely looks, then closes again, and the dream continues without the least account taken of the reality *." But let us turn to facts; for it is well always to cut short discourse with the children of Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin. Let us attend to great and general facts, avoiding, as far as possible, the notice of persons: for, in regard to the figures of this tragedy, the style of Dante, prompted by the spirit of the Ages of Faith, is the best; one smiting word; and then silence, nothing more said †.

The calamities which befel the world at the preaching of this unjust reform, and the multitudes who suffered persecution for the sake of justice in resisting it, are facts belonging to the domain of history; though in the fires which its supporters kindled, they seem to have thought that the voice of the people and the conscience of the human race would be abolished, as Tacitus says of the triumvirs burning volumes in the Forum.

Nothing else could have been expected. The Montanists, the Novatians, the Arians, the Donatists, all had persecuted with heathen fury. The Church, ever at warfare with external or internal foes, has ever found false believers its most bitter assailants. Of the horrors of the new persecutions, curious details are given in the learned and admirable book entitled, "Jerusalem and Babel, or the image of both churches, being a treatise historically discussing, whether Catholics or Protestants be the better subjects ‡."

The new choice of disobedient wills was formed, as all know, in Germany, where, from north to south, it congregated followers. What after that it wrought in

* The Père de Ravignan.

† Carlyle on the Hero as a Poet.

‡ London, 1653, by Patterson.

France, when from Geneva it came forth and leaped the Jura, was of so bold a flight that tongue nor pen may follow it; tow'rds Holland, it wheel'd its bands; then tow'r'd England smote, and upon Scotland, with so fierce a plunge, even the Isle of Saints, far in the mild west, was conscious to the pang. What following, it wrought over Europe, and the new discovered world, is now, to use the words of Dante, "barked of in hell," and by England's best sons, and Ireland's is mourned. Hence weep still many who are pursued by it into the deepest recesses of their hearts; who see by it the world's harmony and peace disturbed, and vengeance upon vengeance wrought for the ancient sin.

Hear now some instances of what befel the just in speeding to the rescue of the lambs of the Church, whom so many wolves incessantly assailed.

"The heretics," says one who witnessed their violence in the sixteenth century, and who describes them precisely, as they are painted by Sir Thomas More, "cannot endure to live on terms of equality with Catholics. The spirit of pride, of unutterable insolence, cannot suffer the presence of the lambs of the Church, without falling on them*." "Ask," he continues, "at Gergean, at Pluviers, at Estampes, at Ponthoise, where the Huguenot tempest has past, what marks it has left of its violence. They will tell you that nothing can be imagined more terrible or more barbarous†."

Let them ask of those who have witnessed the persecutions in England and in Germany, which in horror yielded only to the slaughter and great havoc that coloured Gallic fields with crimson stain, and they will find matter for composing tapestry, now that they like decoration, and admit pictures, sufficient to hang the walls of all the preaching theatres that ever can be built with gold. These persecutors, by their own avowal, were what the Greeks styled a sanguinary race, *φονικώτατοι*‡. "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood," was their text, even among the English, the least sanguinary of all nations; from which they argued, that

* Premier Advertissements des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, 56.

† P. 101.

‡ Thucyd. vii. 29.

those who gave any quarter were to be reproved. "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal," said Melvil to Beaton; "I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death, but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to the Gospel." Having spoken which words, without giving him time to make an act of that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This was the Melvil whom Knox styled a man most gentle and most modest, and this the action which he relates as his godly deed.

The Calvinist, Froumentau, in his curious work, entitled, *Le Secret des Finances de France*, reckons the number of persons massacred, in the diocese of Soissons alone, at two thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, amongst whom were twenty-five priests and twenty-two monks. Yet, notwithstanding the atrocious deeds perpetrated by the persecutors in Soissons, when the Catholics recovered possession of that city, the former lost only three persons, and their fate was the result of private intrigues; the safety of the rest being viewed as a matter of general concern to the conquerors*. The persecutors themselves have acknowledged that they put to death more than forty thousand priests in France†. For the one massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which Catholics as well as Protestants were involved, that political enormity of Catherine de Medecis, which bishop Péréfixe called "the most execrable plot that ever was;" and which so many, like Sigognes, governor of Dieppe, refused to execute, there had been many massacres of the Catholic population during the ten or twelve years preceding, of which the modern authors are careful to say nothing. There was the massacre of Merindol, the massacres of the South, the pillage of Rouen and of Lyons, besides outrages and injuries innumerable. The picture which history discloses is that of a Catholic people persecuted, and of a government which, by its edict of Amboise, in 1562, and by that in 1570, which the parliaments refused to enregister; by its choice of men, like the duc de Bouillon, for governors of provinces, and by its coercive measures to

* Hist. de Soissons, tom. ii.

† Advertissements des Catholiques, &c. 116.

support them, seemed to take part with those who made them suffer all the horrors of the invasions of the pagan barbarians for adhering to their faith *. "The apathy of the civil power," says Audin, "which the reformers represent as so cruel, may well astonish us †." And when the murmurs of the outraged people obliged it to act in their defence, it avowed, in language most insulting to the Church, that it sought to maintain not so much religion as the will of the king ‡. The clergy endeavoured to temper the intolerant measures of the servile parliaments which ensued §, for which, assuredly, they were not responsible; but the violence and cruelty of the destroyers, whom no edict of toleration could content, seemed to excuse every act of rigour. "It is most remarkable," says Floquet, "that one never saw the reformers so seditious as when they had full liberty ||." Not content with seeing the Catholics disarmed, and themselves in a position of legal equality, after two or three months they recommenced their insults, seditions, and devastations ¶. "We are the strongest," said they, "while harassing, insulting, plundering, and killing **." "Who can deny," exclaim even the writers favourable to them, "that the parliament was constrained to adopt rigorous measures to check their career ††?" One Sunday witnessed the sack and devastation, by armed hordes issuing from their preaching, of thirty-six parish churches in Rouen, besides innumerable others that were collegiate and monastic, from which the monks were turned adrift penniless; so that in twenty-four hours there was a work of destruction, along with murders and pillage, "for which," as Beza himself observed, "one might have thought twenty-four weeks insufficient;" and all this, as the registers of the parliaments attest, by "those of the new opinion §§." But who could describe the persecution in detail? At one time it is the insolence of a rich local proprietor, an Antoine de Croÿg-Porcien, who, "hearing the evening bells for the *Salve Regina*, from the neighbouring church, imperiously commands that the trouble-

* Vide Floquet, *Hist. des Parlemtent de Norm.* tom. ii. et iii. passim.

† *Hist. de Calvin*, i. 146.

§ *Id.* iii. 139.

¶ *Id.* iii. 10.

†† *Id.* iii. 34.

‡ Floquet, iii. 62.

|| *Id.* ii. 293.

** *Id.* iii. 20.

§§ *Id.* ii. 390—5.

some noise should cease; while he has the audacity to announce, by sound of horns in the night, through all the streets of Rouen, that his preacher will hold forth *." At another, it is by infesting the roads with armed bands of assassins, so as to intercept all communications. One captain of the persecutors in the south used to wear a belt garnished with the ears of monks †. In Normandy many of them used to wear the ears of priests and monks as cockades in their hats. De Bourgueville says, that they perpetrated acts there too infamous to be named ‡.

"A contemporary author," says Wadding, "assures us, that in one of our general chapters in Rome, in 1650, the provincial of Ireland, Terence Albert O'Brien, then present, said, that he recollected six hundred friars in his province; and that, in the chapter of 1656, it was proved that only the fourth part remained alive, the rest having died on the scaffold or in prison for their faith§." At first, indeed, in England, the clergy seemed taken by surprise, and unwilling to suffer; but, as Patterson says, when the bishops of England had thought upon the matter at issue, they stood stoutly for religion against Elizabeth. Scot, bishop of Chester, died at Louvain in exile; Goldwel, of St. Asaph, died at Rome; Pate, bishop of Worcester, was indeed at the council of Trent, and subscribed there for the clergy of England, but he never returned. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was deprived with the rest, dying suddenly and very shortly after; so did also Tonstal, that learned and celebrated bishop of Durham, while he was prisoner at Lambeth, yet not before he had personally given the queen a sound and godly admonition concerning her strange proceedings, with that liberty and freedom of zeal which became so venerable a prelate and true pastor of God's Church. Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, was prisoner to Cary. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, was first committed to the Tower, and afterwards he and secretary Boxhal were sent to Lambeth, where they died. Bishop Bonner, of London,

* Vide Floquet, *Hist. des Parlemtent de Norm.* tom. iii. 25.

† Monteil, *Hist. des Français*, v. 351. Martin Marteau, *Le Paradis de la Touraine*.

‡ Les *Recherches et Antiquités de Normandie*, 181.

§ Tom. v. liv. 36.

Watson, of Lincoln, with the abbot of Westminster, Fecknam, all died prisoners, and some say in the Marshalsey. Prior Shelley died in exile. "Imprisonment or only exile for those who disregard our exhortations," said Farel, "and never a more rigorous chastisement *."

The persecution which fell upon the laity has never yet been adequately described. To form a just conception of it, one should hear the domestic traditions which are still transmitted with the freshness of a narrative from personal recollection. Those solemn mansions, dark and hid away amidst huge trees, in which peace and silence might be supposed to have ever reigned, were then the scenes of many a tragedy. Those echoing court-yards, desolated turret-chambers, and whole suits of rooms shut up and mouldering to ruin, those terrace gardens, that have such an oppressive air of melancholy, with their great iron gates, disused so long and red with rust, drooping on their hinges and overgrown with long rank grass; that decayed and sombre aspect of the whole house, which strikes the beholder with a sense of sadness; all tell of the sufferings sustained for the sake of the Catholic religion, through many long sorrowful years, by races that were proved faithful. "The queen's proclamation against despisers of the orders of the Church," says Strype, "and absentees from public service of it, looked towards papists as well as others, and accordingly those in commission proceeded according to law against them." At this time a certain papist lady, the lady Huddleston, inhabiting the diocese of Ely, was one of them avoiding coming to church, and now, upon their inquisition, absenting herself from her house, and being greatly suspected to contemn the order of religion settled, the bishop of Ely being about to send for her, she removed herself into another diocese, to a place called Harling Hall, in Norfolk, a great harbour for papists. This the said bishop signified to the bishop of Norwich, and what a dangerous person she was; and that he would do well to use his endeavours to take her. Accordingly the bishop, in whose diocese she was, framed a letter to Ashfield, an active justice of the peace in those parts, not knowing any more convenient way to have her apprehended, than to desire him to take the pains either to

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 238.

travel himself to Harling Hall, where she was, or else to cause her, by his letter, to come before him, where she might lay in good bonds with securities for her appearance before the bishop of Ely, or other the high commissioners, to answer such matters as she might be charged withal, which perhaps might fall out (as he wrote) worse than they knew of; "for surely," as the bishop added, "there is a wicked nest of them together, as he had been informed." He further excited the said justice by telling him, "That the travail herein would be acceptable to God, and profitable to the commonwealth." This was writ in February. But he being justice of the peace for Suffolk, and Harling Hall lying in Norfolk, he could not meddle therein; desiring only sufficient warrant, "and then," he said, "he would be ready not only to fetch that lady, but any other papist whatsoever within either of the two shires," praying his lordship to follow this matter which was so well begun. The issue was that the bishop, as he wrote to the bishop of Ely, procured a warrant under three of their hands, who were commissioners, to call the lady Huddleston to answer her disobedience; and the rather, "because there was," he said, "a wicked brood at that house that ought to be looked to*." How affecting is it to behold the solemn portraits of those who suffered such persecution, looking down so calm and benign from the old tapestry in the very rooms which they once inhabited, and from which they had so often to fly at the least alarm!

The old annals abound with proof that the intensity of the persecution was as great in Germany†. There it lost not its sanguinary character. When St. Fidelis, of Sigmaringen, a Capuchin friar, was sent by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to preach to the Grisons, after that people had apostatized, the Calvinists loudly threatened his life, and Fidelis prepared himself for martyrdom, and announced from the pulpit that his death was at hand. So numerous were the conversions which he effected, that hopes began to be entertained that the whole nation would return to the faith; the Calvinists, however, determined to prevent his further efforts. On

* Strype's Annals, an. 1573.

† *Annales Novesienses*, ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* tom. iv.

the twenty-fourth of April, 1622, a musket being discharged at him in the church, the Catholics entreated him to leave the place. On his road back to Gruch he was met by twenty Calvinist soldiers, with a minister at their head, who stopped and commanded him to embrace their sect. "I am sent," he replied, "to confute, not to embrace heresy. I fear not death." He was instantly beaten down to the ground. "O Lord, forgive my enemies," he said, raising himself on his knees; "they know not what they do. Lord Jesus, have mercy on me. St. Mary, pray for me." Another stroke clove his skull, and he fell to rise no more but as a crowned martyr. His body is in the Capuchin convent of Weltkirchen, of which he was the superior at his death. St. Francis de Sales, for preaching the faith in the provinces of Switzerland, was repeatedly exposed to death from the violence of the Calvinists, some of whom attempted to assassinate him, but were prevented by the arm of God. However, with ingenious cruelty, the heretics sometimes avoided open violence. In Belgium, four Franciscans being seized at Geuzium, in 1579, were compelled to swallow fine sand, and then they were set free as if nothing had been done to them; but death was the speedy result*. In England the thirty-two Franciscan martyrs, under Henry VIII., were caused to die by the horror and filth of their prison, which indeed was the general mode of inflicting death on the Catholic martyrs in England†. In Ireland, on the contrary, in 1582, we find them violently slain before the high altar of their convents‡.

Another characteristic of this persecution was a spirit of atrocious mockery in which it was carried on, or, as its admirers say, "the vein of drollery" which was in the men who conducted it, and which they declare they like much in combination with their other qualities. Sir Thomas More, who observed it too, did not see it in that light. "You men of the new learning," he said, "boast that ye have taken away hypocrisy. It may be so: but of this I am right well assured, that ye have left impudence in its place." The French clergy in many places were obliged to be dispensed from the tonsure in conse-

* Martyrologium Franciscanum, July 6.

† Id. July 31.

‡ Id. July 20.

quence of their multiplied insults * ; as in later times, to shun the same derision, they have often been disguised. Ridicule was an old weapon against the just ; as when Cham derided his father †, the men of Phanuel, Gideon ‡ and Michol, David §. Neemiah testifies that the prophets generally were made objects of derision. Among the Pagans there were scoffers who attacked the Christians with ridicule ; but the new race of persecutors evinced towards them a genius of savage irony ; resembling more that which prompted the wagging of heads before the cross, or that of the Merovingian tyrants to the victims of their unimaginable cruelty, than the heartless pleasantry of Lucian.

The jest of Henry VIII. respecting the sending of a cardinal's hat to Fisher, so like that of the Austrasian duke Raukhing, who said that he would keep his oath at the prayer of a priest not to separate a young peasant from his wife, and caused them to be buried alive in the same grave, was characteristic of the men who followed his banner. It was considered so admirable that they were never weary of repeating it, and improving it, as may be witnessed in the pages of Hall, and Hollinshed, and Fuller, and other of their sect. The gibes with which Calvin, grinning with ghastly feature, insulted the dying shrieks of Servetus, imploring mercy ; the drolleries of Knox, and of Theodore Beza, as when the latter laughs at the cutting off the hand of the aged and beloved Villebon by the sword of Vieilleville || ; the witty device practised in so many places of strewing broken glass where barefooted pilgrims were known to walk, are other instances in proof. The Lutheran irony, so bitter and bloody, was often literally like that which prompted the words, " He trusted in God. Let Him deliver him if He will have him. Prophecy unto us, O Christ, who it is that struck thee. He saved others, Himself He cannot save." The Lutheran mockery cannot be translated for common readers, or described without offending them. It was not mirth ; the foes of the Church had little cause for it ; but it resembled that which Dante found in Malebolge, when the gnarling souls of the tormented looked to their leader for a signal, which he gave as Luther said

* Floquet, Hist. des Parl. de Norm. iii. 14. † Gen. ix. 22.

‡ Jud. viii. 6. § 2 Reg. vi. 16. || Hist. Eccles. ii. 670.

he would himself reply. And in truth, had their triumphant march been seen, a poet, to have witnessed demoniac manners, needed not a journey into hell. Against the children of the beatitudes, whether in cowls or mitres, in knightly steel or the poor peasant's garb, a true satanic ridicule was directed, when the persecutors of the sixteenth century thought to laugh down the Catholic Church*. The force of scenic exhibitions was very generally employed. In Holland, in 1602, the mass was mimicked by thirty soldiers, wearing chasubles and copes, in the town of Edan†. The same blasphemous buffoonery was adopted in England, and indeed every where. Heresy was like the frozen circle where Dante marked a thousand visages, which the keen and eager cold had shaped into a doggish grin, whence crept a shivering horror over him. Again, two other features of the Pagan persecutions distinguished the conduct of the false reformers. There was a kind of astonishment expressed at the fact of men refusing to renounce their faith, as if it was a certain magical infatuation; and there was an agreement to punish them as offenders against the laws of the state. They sought also to disgrace them by distributing calumnies and blasphemies among the people, as was done of old by order of Maximian. It startles a reader not familiar with the early history of the Church to hear St. Clement of Alexandria saying, "Therefore the Christian is no atheist: for this is what I had to demonstrate to the philosophers; and nothing disgraceful does he ever commit‡." St. Augustin says that the Pagans of his time used to cover the Church with opprobrium, saying, "You corrupt discipline, and pervert the morals of the human race;" and if they were asked how, that they replied, "By allowing men to do penance, and promising impunity after sins and forgiveness§."

Catholics in this last persecution were similarly ranked with atheists and perverters of morals. They were stigmatized as enemies of the Gospel, public enemies, traitors. In vain did Sir Thomas More declare that he would meddle with no matter of this world, but that his whole study should be upon the passion of Christ, and his own

* *Turris Babel, sive de Mortifero Linguae veneno.* Auct. J. Pelecyo, ii. 16.

† *Id.* ii. 16.

‡ *Strom.* vii. 9.

§ *In Ps.* ci.

passage out of this world. The king was no less resolute in affirming that he was the occasion of much grudge and harm in the realm, and that he had an obstinate mind and evil towards him, and malignant. While John Forrester, the Franciscan friar, confessor of queen Catherine, was burning at a slow fire in Smithfield, these verses were distributed among the crowd :

“ Forestus frater, mendacii pater,
Qui mortis author voluit esse suæ,
Per summam impudentiam
Negavit Evangelium
Et regem esse caput Ecclesiæ *.”

To the affecting letter addressed to him by the queen when he was in prison among felons, as also to that written to him by the Lady Elizabeth Hammon, one of her maids of honour, this holy man sent very sublime answers, saying that it was not for a friar who had lived sixty-four years, forty-three of which were spent wearing the habit of St. Francis, to fear death, and asking their prayers, foreseeing the horrible tortures that he was about to suffer †. But, if we could resume this theme, there would be no end of citing instances to show with what a true spirit these Catholics met death. Camden, with all his prejudices, is forced to acknowledge that Sir Thomas More's behaviour in the last act was not unbecoming the primitive age of the Christian Church. “ *Patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias Christi fundata est Ecclesia,*” said St. Jerome ‡; and so it continued to be maintained whoever might be its foes. But to return to the persecutors. Like the Arians, in the instance of their cruelty to St. Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch, the rage of these men was not satisfied with deprivation and banishment. They employed subornation of perjury in order to overwhelm their victims with disgrace.

The chiefs of the persecution in the sixteenth century were not apprentices in the detracting art. Balduinus relates that Calvin, when at college, did nothing but calumniate his fellow-scholars; so that they surnamed him *Accusativus*, saying that John can decline as far as

* Wadding, *Annal. Min.* tom. xvi.

† *Id.*

‡ *Epist.* xxxix.

the accusative *. The calumnies employed by him against illustrious Catholics are not less prodigious than those of Luther himself. By all the progeny that sprang from both, Catholics were represented as men that ought to be expelled in order to stop a plague, as the Pagans supposed that the Jews were from Egypt, being *genus hominum invisum Deis*, men of an absurd and sordid rite, as Tacitus calls them † : in banishing whom a king would only imitate Antiochus, endeavouring *demere superstitionem, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret*. They were said also to be enemies of their own nation ; but as they might have replied, in the words of an enemy, "Certainly if ignorance and perverseness will needs be national and universal, then they who adhere to wisdom and truth are not therefore to be blamed for being so few as to seem a sect or faction." "Little reason is there in truth," said they, "that Protestants should clamour so loud as they do, and cry out nothing but, Treason, treason ! against religious and good men. They tell the world that no less than two hundred priests have been executed in England for treason since the Reformation, which is certainly a very heavy report, and sufficient to make them odious to all the world, if it were true ; but they call that treason in England which in all parts of Christendom besides is both called and counted religion and the highest virtue. For we beseech them to tell us, Of what treason do they convict us at any time, but the treason of being a priest ? the treason to say mass ? the treason to refuse the oath ? the treason to absolve penitents confessing their sins ? the treason to restore men to the communion of the Church ? the treason to preach and administer Christ's sacraments ? the treason to be bred up in the seminaries, where only, as things now stand in England, they can be catholicly bred ‡."

"How strange," continues this ancient author, "that the laws of England should make a function, so ancient and honourable in England as the priesthood once was, to be treason ? which certainly is the same function now that it was then, when it was most honoured ; and hath suffered no more change from what it first was than St.

* Audin, *Hist. de Calvin*, i.

† *Lib. v. 3.*

‡ *Jerusalem and Babel*, 531.

Paul's church hath suffered change since the time it was first built by king Ethelbert ; that is, it is grown old indeed ; and for Papists, if men go about to make them a sect, and endeavour to suppress them under that notion, truly we shall be found a very ancient sect ; and I believe it will trouble the best doctor in England to assign us any other sect-master, any other author and founder of our profession, than our Saviour Christ and St. Peter *."

Of such charges we may say, in the words of Philemon,

Ὁ λοιδορῶν, — ἰάν ὁ λοιδορούμενος,
Μὴ προσποιῆται, λοιδορεῖται λοιδορῶν.

Of the reality of these laws against the priesthood we can still witness monumental proof in those secret recesses for concealment, so artfully contrived in the old houses of Catholics in England, which, where minds have been well directed, as in that venerable hall to which my memory will ever revert when it seeks to be consoled by a living image of the ancient honour, are shown to some favoured few, as things too deeply interesting to be made the theme of talk, or even to be seen by those whom curiosity alone impels, but which should be approached with profound religious sympathy, as some holy spot which is the object of a pilgrimage, and to which only the devout can wish to penetrate. Well may they be prized ; for they are true sanctuaries, hallowed by the sufferings of blessed confessors who endured persecution for the sake of justice. No bed of honour in the old discipline of knights, no sacred page of martyrology chanted at the convent board, can be more fraught with a power of inspiring hearts with a love of honour and of highest truth, than these dark vaults, under the sunken and uneven floor of the time-worn oak-panneled room, or beneath the tower's winding-stairs, which seem to admit of no space hidden from the eye of him who mounts them ; when a noble and pious hand raises the mysterious door over which massive beams seem resting, and reveals to a stranger, impressed with awe and reverence, the secret tradition of the family.

The legal character of this persecution was not a novelty to the Church, further than in extent and duration.

* Jerusalem and Babel, p. 568.

Julian's policy resembled that of these later days. He disqualified Christians for bearing offices in the state. He forbade them to teach either rhetoric or philosophy : he commanded by an edict, that they should be no longer called Christians, but Galilæans ; and though he pretended toleration, he destroyed more souls by recompenses, caresses, and stratagems, than he could have done by cruelties. He levied heavy fines, and seized the estates of Christians, saying in raillery that he did it to oblige them to follow the poverty which their religion recommended. He often put them to death, but on other pretences, that he might deprive them of the honour of martyrdom.

On the rise of the new opinions, or rather, as Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, styled them in the House of Lords in 1559, "of the errors and sects of ancient condemned heretics," kings and rulers, lords and commons, allowed themselves to be led on by that mania which had formerly seemed inherent to the Byzantine throne, of forcing their ideas as laws upon the Church. For more than two centuries laws more violent than those of Valerian or Diocletian were put in full force in England ; and thousands suffered either death, or confiscation, or exile. It was the same elsewhere. "Geneva," says Audin, "resembled Rome under Tiberius *." Shakespeare seems to have had the false reformers and their victims in his view, when he made Aaron say, "Swear !" and Lucius to reply, "Who should I swear by ? 'Thou believ'st no God ; then how canst thou believe an oath ?" For upon this retort he makes Aaron answer thus :

"What if I do not ? as indeed I do not :
Yet—for I know thou art religious,
And hast a thing within thee called conscience,
And twenty popish tricks and ceremonies,
Which I have seen thee careful to observe,—
Therefore I urge thy oath †."

The progeny of Calvin, who from France flocked to Geneva, the German princes who embraced the reform, and the English nobles who assisted to establish it, might all have held this language ‡. Lords and commons

* Hist. de Calvin, ii. 172.

† Tit. Andron. act v. sc. i.

‡ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. passim.

showed themselves wiser in legislating against priests and monks, and Catholics generally, men, women, and children, than they have proved since in regard to the ordinary objects of law. It must be confessed that he who first guided them on this path, like the barbarous Cyclops, did his business well, *πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν* *. All was deeply planned, and executed with an infernal malice. Thus in Elizabeth's time we find, in a state document of 1558, entitled *Device for Alteration of Religion*, these cruel words: "Ireland also will be very difficultly staid in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome. What remedy for these matters? Some expense of money in Ireland." The blood boils in one's veins when one reads the seventh article of the propositions sent to the king by both houses so late as in 1642, in which they entreat his majesty "to consent to such a bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion." Laws were framed with a design, rendered feasible by the moral consequences of the new opinions, to separate man from wife, children from parents, brothers from sisters, friends from friends. They were so subtle that they reached the heart; and he who could not accuse his friend of open wrong might say, complaining with the poet,

"I have not from your eyes that gentleness
And show of love as I was wont to have."

The odious letter of the unfortunate youth, Edward VI. to the princess Mary his sister, is an instance. The persecution thus was alternately artful and atrocious, like that of Pharaoh, who made the people of God hateful to his subjects, while seeking means to destroy them. "Come," said he, "let us oppress them wisely, prudently †;" that is, secretly and craftily. He did not indeed force the Israelites to quit their religion, nor to sacrifice to strange gods; they were suffered to live, and to possess what was necessary to life; but their life was made insupportable by loading them with labours, and giving them governors, who oppressed them. At length

* *Odys. ix.*

† *Exod. x. 11.*

he proceeded to open persecution, and condemned their male children to be drowned in the Nile*.

The persecutors of whom we speak aimed also at humiliating their victims by a thousand legal disabilities, resembling those which the Mahometans imposed in the middle ages upon Christians in the East; but their cruelty descended to a meanness, to which nothing parallel could be found out of their immediate sect, as in the conduct of the lords in the time of Edward VI. in persecuting Mary. In all this too, as the viscount Montagu said in the House of Lords, "the legislature was only lending itself to the designs of those who looked to wax mighty and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men."

But of this fearful union of all persecuting elements, the most calamitous result, as affecting the present condition of the just militating in the Church on earth, has not yet been considered. Terrible as it appears when we survey its sanguinary, insidious, and legislative character, it is, when regarded chiefly as disturbing the pacific order of social and religious principles and consequences illustrated, in the last two books of this history that its native deformity is most clearly seen.

"While the Pope reigned," said Luther, in his letter to the people of Antwerp, "one heard of no troubles." To whatever cause he might ascribe it, the fact was so. "All the world," as Florimond de Raimond says, writing to Stephen Pasquier, "was living in peace on the subject of religion, every one continuing tranquilly in the faith of his fathers, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when all became disunited and divided into sects and heresies, which covered the whole earth with misery and desolation †." This counsellor of the parliament of Bordeaux, who reaped his full share of calumny, describes the happy pacific state of Italy at the very time when these horrors reigned in Germany, France, and England. Nothing can be more delightful than his faithful representation of the religious and social tranquillity which that faithful land enjoyed under the holy Pope Clement VIII., whose labours to promote peace were extended

* Bossuet, *Elévations*.

† *Lettres De Pasquier*, xx. 5.

over the whole Church *; and it is idle to think of justifying the disturbance of this order by a false statement, and a poetical figure, saying that "the European world was in a state of stagnant putrescence, loathsome accursed death, and that a paroxysm was necessary to cure it." France herself, as we have seen, had appeared a paradise to those who visited it in preceding times. The state of England during the previous reign of Henry VII. was prosperous and powerful; and to the social order of Germany in the days of his youth, Luther used continually to recur with a melancholy pleasure. But no sooner had the destructive element of heresy been introduced, than all this beautiful world of faith was broken up and dissolved. That lying, virulent, seditious voice was like the tongue of the daughters of black Night,

*Καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς**

bearing for fruit that nothing should be well †; a harvest which the sons of Eve are reaping, by their own avowal, to the present hour.

"O! heretical insanity," to use the words of St. Augustin,

"Thou art the author of this evil.

. Now plenteous, as thou seest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
Though heaviest by just measure on thyself
And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
Heav'n's blessed peace, and into nature brought
Misery?

. How hast thou instill'd
Thy malice into thousands once upright
And faithful, now prov'd false?"

"Auferat omnia irrita oblivio, si potest; si non, utcumque silentium tegat," said Scipio, on one occasion of the belief and hopes and wishes of his fellow-men ‡. We too, as appears from our procrastination, led to this pass by strict necessity not by delight, have shrunk from looking upon the contrast to the peaceful bliss of Catholic states during Ages of Faith. All my inclinations strove

* Hist. de Naissance, Progrez et Décadence de l'Hérésie de ce Siècle, tom. i. liv. lii. 4.

† Æsch. Eumen. 831.

‡ Liv. xxviii. 29.

to check my onward going, that oft-times with purpose to retrace my steps, I turned ; but silence here were vain ; and though I unfold that which may with many wofully disrelish, at last, though late, it must be seen.

In the Church, as we have shown from history, in the nations and ages faithful to it, was the vision of peace, as in Jerusalem ; but now arose a race of persecutors, " who hated Jerusalem, who hated peace," as St. Augustin says, " who wished to break unity, who did not believe true peace, but who announced a false peace to the people. Peace," he continues, " cannot be with their spirit, who diffuse dissensions ; for, if it were, they would have loved peace and kept unity *." It was their principle to confound all unity, to divide each kingdom. In attacking both moral and social liberty, their state-maxims were subversive of the peace and security of every state. After destroying all that had been held sacred before their time, the false reformers attacked even the political instincts of men ; " so that," as Florimond de Raimond observes, " if some have said truly, that heresy was a false opinion, or an error opposed to the truth of faith, destined to attack the ' Christian religion,' as the emperors Gratian and Theodosius have described it, others have no less truly said, that it was an invention of the author of discord, the god of division, sown in the world as universal solvents to decompose the greatest and most flourishing monarchies, and reduce all things to a chaos of confusion and disorder †."

" See," says De Raimond, " how these bands, separated from their first mother, after quitting her banner, tear even one another, anathematize each other, attack, defame, reproach, and insult each other ‡." " In Geneva, Berne, and in every other city," says De Haller, " Protestantism produced nothing but hatred and discord, even among its own followers,—discord between states, discord between the citizens." " I never stop one mouth of the devil," says Luther, speaking of the reformers who opposed him, " without his opening ten others against me." How many would he find open now ?

The spectacle of their dissensions, and of the domestic persecutions to which they led, was enough to deprive a

* In Ps. cxxiv.

† Id. tom. ii. liv. i. c. i.

‡ Id. liv. ii. 13.

country of its joy. Each Catholic, however he might have hoped to pass his life, silent, unobtrusive, far from the spectacle of human vanity, felt the wound in his heart of hearts. "Accursed and unquiet wrangling days," he cried; "how many of you have mine eyes beheld!" Lord Clarendon says, that "the disease of murmuring became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation." "Ventum jam ad finem esse," he might have said in the words of Livy, "domi plus belli concitari, quam foris." Indeed, from the precise fruits which the false reform bore, the Catholic Church from the earliest times had daily besought God to deliver all her children; so that, with a mind prophetic of the woes that were preparing, she seemed to have composed those lines of the meridian hymn :

"Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum
Veramque pacem cordium."

But these fruits were to be gathered; and neither bodies nor souls were to have peace any longer. And now, says Feckenham, abbot of Westminster in 1559, "sithence the coming of our most sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, all things are turned upside down; obedience is gone; humility and meekness are clear abolished, as though they had never been heard of in this realm." We might address each of these innovators in the words of Æschylus:

Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.
Ὅ μὲν γὰρ ἤγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ,
Σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν
Ἄξῃ, κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φάνη *.

"What are the consequences of their pretended reform? It has produced," continues Fénelon, "nothing but scandals, troubles, disputes, and irreligion." Under its fairest forms, it has persecuted with systematic cruelty, so that it resembles a grove planted around the temple of the Furies. Its ordinary fruits were rebellion, insolent defiance of its natural rulers, tyranny, oppression of the

* Æschyl. Agam. 1615.

people, bloodshed, destruction, war, religious wars, intestine wars, national wars, fulfilling the sentence of Almighty God, "Non est pax impiis."

For the religious wars of France there is a trilogy of Protestant historians,—La Place, La Planchie, and La Pepinière. Besides these, in later times, Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigny, grandfather of Madame de Maintenon, chief of the same party, left a work, breathing the inspiration of a warrior. The Catholics had no contemporary historians for the epoch of these wars. All the activity was on the side of their opponents, "which," adds Michelet, "is unfortunate." Among the historians of a later period, who described these wars from what they had heard or read, may be distinguished De Thou; often exact, but timid, and, in regard to the parliament, worthless; for being a parliamentarian, he did not dare to record the truth, whether good or evil. The Père Matthieu must also be examined; one of the grand historians of the French language, strictly impartial, and, in regard to style, magnificent. An earlier work, however, too remarkable to be passed over in silence through deference to those who charged it with partiality, is the great history of the rise of heresy by a counsellor of the parliament at Bourdeaux, Florimond de Raimond, whose convictions are more energetically expressed from their being the fruit of his own long experience and personal observation. Michelet supposes that Bossuet had this work open before him, when he was writing his history of the variations; and he takes occasion to observe, that these great legists of the south are not sufficiently known to his contemporaries. As sources of historical literature relative to the same period, he cites also the admirable literary works of the great Jesuits of that time. The injustice of the three last centuries caused, he says, the Catholic writers to be laid aside, and would suffer no others to become popular but the Protestant books; which are, in effect, like Lethe, or that place seen by Dante, "whither to lave themselves the spirits go;" excepting indeed that the blame of those who seek to efface it here, has not been by penitence removed. However, as late authors say, a great change in this respect has taken place in men's ideas. By dint of research and comparisons, one grave historian even says that he arrives at this historical formula—to regard as false whatever the chiefs of the reform adduce as true,

to count glorious whatever they stigmatise, to crown and extol all that they degrade and outrage; and he assures us, that if we apply this formula, we shall never be mistaken*: words which may seem quick and rash until they have been weighed by an accurate and experienced intelligence, and then it will be found that they are as measured as they are mournful. Those who have a right to be heard, from having studied history, like this author, at its sources for five-and-twenty years, will admit that they have discovered the rule long since by themselves, and that, to doubt its validity, would in them be affectation. But having pointed at the sources, let us ask now, What, upon the whole, is the information? Let the eye-witness, let the older observers speak: "This discourse demands audience, gentlemen Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zuinglians," says Florimond de Raimond; "open your eyes through the cloud of dust rising over so many demolished churches. Penetrate the density of the smoke of so many conflagrations; contemplate the kingdoms that are covered with sepulchres and cemeteries of new-made graves: you will recognise the work of your fathers and progenitors, authors of these desolations; and you will acknowledge deplorable traces of their fury and devastation†."

During the first seven or eight years, it was a war of fierce conflicting tongues, of insults, calumnies, and lies against the Holy See. "After I am dead," said Luther, "my ashes will make war against this papal crowd." That did not look like the man of "peaceable disposition," which some pretend that he was. Then, at the sound of his trumpet, the subject began to arm himself against his prince, the vassal against his seigneur, the citizen against his magistrate; and the sweetness of peace was changed into a cruel and lamentable war. Thenceforth we read only of leagues, massacres, seditions, devastation of provinces, and, in short, of a world of miseries and unprecedented calamities. Luther being dead, all Germany prepares for war‡. Then each prince was like Alaric, who thought that an invincible fatality drew him on to attack Rome. After mounting thrones, heresy, in the league of Smalkalde, swears against the chief

* Audin, *Hist. de Calvin*, ii. 407.

† *Hist. de la Naissance*, &c. l. i. 6.

‡ *Liv.* iii. 1, 2.

of the empire an eternal war. Spent with crimes, and having desolated Germany, it calls to its aid the savages of the North, and causes the thirty years' war. Then follow the wars of the United-Provinces, the intestine wars of Switzerland, the religious wars of France, reviving the horrors of the invasion of Attila, the religious wars in Ireland, and the long series of cruelties and insults which marked the policy of its government. Alas! poor country; thou canst not witness the monuments of early Christianity, teaching how the pagan mind could persecute without being reminded of thine own sufferings. The Roman orator, describing Sicily under Verres, seems to have foreseen and copied thee: "O, spectaculum miserum atque acerbum *!" As De Haller says, the introduction of Protestantism was every where with violence and oppression. In general, it only advanced in proportion as armed battalions took possession of territories †. "On such a day the divine justice has passed by such a village, and hearts were converted," say the preachers, meaning that the people on the devoted spot were obliged to capitulate and surrender. "We conjure all men of good faith," says a late historian, "to say whether the conversion of Switzerland was effected by other means ‡." When preaching, swords, and cannon had proved ineffectual to shake the faith of a canton, Zurich and Berne attempted to reduce it by famine, seizing the passes, blocking up the roads with fragments of rocks, and burning the crops §. "As soon as peace was made," says Florimond de Raimond, "between the princes of Germany, by the last defeat of cruel Albert, war began again between the writers; then followed colloquies and synods, divisions of states, and decrees that all subjects should follow the religions of their respective princes. Meanwhile, in England, martyrs followed martyrs to the block. Open your eyes, gentlemen who pretend to be reformed, glorious title that you acquire in France, by strokes of the sword and the firing of cannon. Contemplate the picture of your poor country bathed in blood. Ah! how easy it is to ruin and destroy! but to build again, gentlemen, ah! there's the difficulty. You reformers of the world know how to pull down, but not to

* Ver. lib. v.

† Hist. de la Réforme en Suisse, 20.

‡ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, l.

§ Ibid. i. 232.

build. Marvellous workmen you are, who in such brief space have destroyed the labour of twelve hundred years, and caused more arms to be wielded than ever the Romans moved for the conquest of the universal world. To this day, that we escape from these horrors, you have caused in France nine drawn battles, more than two hundred great engagements, which, in loss of men, equal many regular battles, taken or retaken, sacked or re-sacked nearly all the cities and castles of the kingdom, and made to pass by the sword or fire more than a million of your fellow-citizens*." "You know," he continues, "how the Christian religion began in peace and benediction and salutations of peace; but this libertine religion comes forth from its mother ready-armed with teeth and claws; it comes forth to the sound of trumpets and drums, to the clink of arms; and before it can speak, moves its hands and fills the world with terror. See the difference between the two. See on one side the minister flanked in the midst of bands and squadrons of warriors, and on the other, the apostles of Jesus Christ, surrounded with persecutors. Wolves here and lambs there. Serpents and dragons and simple doves. There, armed brethren, breathing only carnage, and carrying a Gospel presented like a musket at their God and at their king. Here, the ancient champions of faith, exposing themselves to death to honour their master, to save kings and people breathing only sweetness and love. There, a band amongst the children of the world, frantic with the spirit of Satan. Here, the peace of God amongst the children of heaven. See how this reformed libertine, when he grows tall, sounds sedition and war, and inhumanly conducts it, wherever he can place his foot and insinuate a hand: and what gospel is this? who sees not that it is a weapon of him who, from the moment of his fall, has never ceased to make war against God, and against his Church, and to feed his appetite with the lives and blood of men†?" Nor, let it be repeated, were these consequences unforeseen by the authors of this division. From the first, as we have seen, they proclaimed them as inevitable, so that it is by no means such "strange reasoning to charge the Reformation with

* Flor. de Raim. tom. i. liv. v. 13. vii. c. i.

† Ibid. tom. ii. liv. i. c. 9.

them all." "Luther, to a slight observer," we are told, "might have seemed a man whose chief distinction was modesty, affectionate shrinking tenderness." It must have been to a very slight observer then. That seeming gentleness, however, would not have peace at any price. At first, it must have war with the scholastic philosophy, war with the popedom, war with theology, war with the sacerdotal hierarchy, against which it issued a treatise that might be said, as one of its biographers observes, to be written, not with ink, but with human blood: "*Non atramento sed humano sanguine scripsisse videtur* *." Then this was not sufficient, and he who was led by it exclaims, "I do not choose to turn a sword into a pen. The Word of God is a sword; it draws after it fire and ruin, scandal and perdition; it is like the bear on the high road, the lioness in the forest. If you understand the spirit of the reform, you must know that it cannot work without tumult and sedition. Talk not of my passion. See, nothing lasts that is done with calm. What will you? The word of God never goes forth without trouble and tumult, and thunders on the heights. One must renounce either peace or the divine word. The Lord is come to bring war and not peace; I am seized with terror: *væ terræ!* woe to the earth!" He sees a futurity all of blood; for it is a tragedy he is about to play, which will end, like the ancient tragedies, by murder. That does not discourage him. He is never satiated repeating it. His work he knows will cause tears and blood. It matters not. He will still persevere. *Væ terræ!* the prophecy will soon be accomplished. All Germany will rise up; murder will walk the streets of her cities. There will be blood in the market-places, blood in the churches. *Væ terræ†!*" In the war of the peasants more than a hundred thousand men were slain in the field of battle, seven cities were dismantled, and fifty monasteries razed to the ground. Then it was that Luther, encouraging the princes to slaughter the peasants, exclaimed, "*Mirabile tempus nimirum ut principes multo facilius trucidandis rusticis et sanguine fundendo quam alii fundendis ad Deum precibus cœlum mereantur†.*" Truly, deeds and words such as these, might seem to

* Ulemberg. 161. ap. Audin, Hist. de Luth. ii.

† Audin, Hist. de Luth. i.

‡ Ap. id. ii. 176.

need the avowal of their authors; though, had they been silent, or denied what they avowed, they had not hid their sin the more. Judge then for thyself, reader, of those whom I so oft accuse to thee, what they are, and how grievous their offending, who are the cause of all our ills; for where is the state, where the family, in which, to the present hour, some are not persecuted, in consequence of the bitter seed which they sowed three centuries ago?

Let us only cast our eyes back towards the region of peace, intellectual and social, which we traversed in the last two books, and we shall feel the force of this persecution, which the Catholic society had now to sustain for adhering to the principles which had governed it during Ages of Faith. Transgressing these, it fell, no less than nature, from its state in Paradise. For while those ages lasted, spirits that sowed discord, whether between states or individuals, were driven out from all the confines where they could trouble holy rest; and even frequently courts themselves, contemplative like Heaven, the seat of bliss, brooked not the words of violence and war. These knights of the old mark were saying with the fabled hero, that "the time was no longer, when men should thus conquer kingdoms, to the injury of their neighbour and of their Christian brother; that such an imitation of these ancient Herculeases, Alexanders, Hannibals, Scipios, Cæsars, and others similar, is contrary to the profession of the Gospel, by which it is commanded that each should guard, save, rule, and administer his own country and lands, and not hostilely invade others; and that what the Saracens and barbarians used to call prowess, is now called by us brigandery and wickedness*."

"Sire, je te prie que il te preingne pitié de moy et m'oste de ces guerres entre crestiens." Such was the prayer of the seigneur de Brancion, as Joinville relates, offered with a loud cry before the altar, at which the brave knight knelt immediately after a battle. But what a change of sentiments on this head attended the decline of faith! Let us fix our eyes attentively at this feature, denoting the love of war in the character of the false reformers, to whom the Bible appeared as the true *Arbre des Batailles*, the manual for those who were to fight.

* Rabelais.

We have seen that, in Ages of Faith, wars were sanctioned in certain cases, as necessary for the interests of peace, and that "fortitude which defends by war a country from barbarians, or protects the weak at home, or allies from plunderers, was deemed full justice," as St. Ambrose says*. But how great was the distance between this just estimate of the lawfulness of war and the spirit of the innovators of the sixteenth century, who sought by force of arms to propagate their religious views, and who waged it recklessly on every occasion when their passions raged! Theirs was a spirit essentially opposed to the meek virtues which engender peace, rendering men similar to him who was most hateful even to the Homeric deity, for loving always discord, wars, and battles. We have seen that those who took part even in just wars were regarded as requiring penance to efface the contamination of blood, so conformable was the general impression to the judgment of Plato, when he said, "neither will we place arms in temples, as offerings to be suspended from the walls, for whether these be taken from Greeks or strangers, we should rather fear that there would be a pollution to the temple which received them †!" we have heard the reiterated admonitions that were then addressed to all who advocated war; who were told, as by the poet:

"Lordings, ther is ful many a man
That crieth werre, werre, that wote
Ful litel what werre amounteth;"

we have marked the affecting entreaties of holy men, resembling in their end the concluding words of the Orestes:

*ἵτε νῦν καθ' ὁδόν, τὴν καλλίστην
Θεὸν Εἰρήνην τιμῶντες.*

"May length of days be in thy country's right hand, and in her left riches and honour: may all her ways be pleasantness, and all her paths peace;" we have even seen how general was that conviction to which Plato looked as conducing to an ideal social perfection,

* S. Amb. de Off.

† De Repub. v.

"that no one should ever hate another, and that it was not holy to have an enemy," which was the lesson imparted to youth from earliest years, as well as to manhood and to old age, which, as Plato says, "would supersede all those Homeric notions of martial glory*," which he considered so dangerous, that, on that account, he would exclude the poems which instil them from his republic. But while Catholics generally were acknowledging, with the marquis de Pescara, the difficulty of serving at the same time Mars and Christ, as Brantome relates in his Memoirs, the preacher of the new opinions was invoking πολὺδακρυν Ἄρηα, and exercising the two-fold office of minister and captain. How would it be possible to make mention of forcing new opinions in religion upon a faithful peasantry, at the point of the bayonet, under the banner of kings, or elsewhere, of rebellion against kings who stood faithfully for the Catholic religion, of storming of cities, and of the carnage of drawn battles in a civil war, without speaking of this ambiguous personage, the black-robed or surpliced captain? How could one record the injuries sustained by those who defended their religion and their homes against domestic enemies, without finding him in the fraternity of those who were leagued together to inflict them?

Many are the tearful consequences which nations suffered from the false reform; manifold the persecutions to which it led; τὸ δὲ μίγιστον, to use the words of Thucydides, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες for, let it be observed, wherever they penetrated,

" Hic matres, miseræque nurus, hic cara sororum
Pectora mœrentum, puerique parentibus orbi
Dirum execrantur bellum . . . † "

Some, indeed, whose habits of life, consequent upon the new opinions that were afloat, excluded all sympathy with the multitude, might be steeled to endure the spectacle of these woes. Joseph Scaliger frequently told Heinsius, that when in Paris, in time of the troubles, he studied Hebrew with such ardour, that he never once heard the noise of arms, the cries of children, the lamentations of women, or the clamour of men ‡. But such

* De Repub. ii.

† Æn. xi. 215.

‡ Heinsii Orat. ii.

insensibility was never found in those holy cloisters, that we lift there up aloft, where the spirits of men contemplative groaned in pain at the sufferings of the faithful people.

The persecutors of the Catholic Church, in all ages, as in our own, have resembled Mahometans in this respect, that they heartily relished propagating their opinions by material force, by the sword. They have always been ready to advocate a war of religion, a war of principles, whether the banner be that of Gospel light, or liberalism, or conservatism. Their leaders have been inhuman, encouraging their bands in words like those of Cæsar to his troops :

" Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
Ulla, nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
Commoveant *."

Their followers, true lovers μάχης δακρυόεσης, have been sanguinary and eager, like wolves, as Homer would say, to slay and to devour :

. οἱ δὲ, λύκοι ὥς,
' Ἀλλήλοισι ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδνοπάλειεν.

In the sixteenth century, historians expressly remark that the eagerness for war evinced by the people of St. Gall, and of other parts of Switzerland, was a new feature in the history of the country. On the slightest pretence they used to rush to arms and march in bands, carrying destruction with them, as Constance, Arbon, and many other states had reason to remember †. Theodore Beza boasts, indeed, of the fine discipline in the Calvinist army, of the strict morality, the daily psalmody, and prayers and sermons of the ministers; but, as Anquetil observes, " The result was a sombre and ferocious zeal, each soldier being convinced that the greatest cruelties were lawful for the cause of his religion;" and, for the better recruiting of their armies, some years later, this strict morality was found compatible with two of their most eminent chaplains publicly avowing that their own soldiers, when taken prisoners, and released upon their oaths that they would not again bear arms, were

* Lucan. vii.

† Ildefons von Arx, Geschichte des S. Gall, ii. 404.

not obliged by that oath, and with the ministers absolving them thereof, in order to engage them again in the work of rebellion. In presence of what Gibbon terms this high-spirited enthusiasm, which caused the Protestant soldiers to shed tears, like the primitive Moslems, when they were held back from battle, one need not refer to Christian antiquity, to find a contrast, or appeal to the canons of St. Basil, which decreed that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier should be separated during three years from the communion of the faithful. The very pagans can supply it, and corroborate the opposite views of glory, which prevailed in Ages of Faith.

"Metellus tuus est egregius consul," says Cicero to Atticus; "unum reprehendo, quod otium e Gallia nunciari non magnopere gaudet. Cupit credo triumphare. Hoc vellem mediocrius; cætera egregia *." To succeed in obtaining a triumph, it was necessary, by the discipline of the republic, that he should kill at least five thousand men in battle. The humane mind of the philosopher might therefore justly qualify his praise; and they who most admired the great men of the Protestant camp, would have done well to have imitated him in their panegyrics. The admiral Coligni, indeed, affected to be a lover of peace, and, in order to deceive king Charles, told him that he thought of nothing but gardening; as a proof, showing to his messenger a little hoe which he held in his hand: but eight days afterwards he appeared in the field, a true son of Mars, at the head of his Protestant troops. Another king, too, as an English historian attests, upon the observation and experience he had in the same party, reformed his first opinions as to the virtue of his contemporaries. "finding those of the most unsuspected integrity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity to concur with them in mischievous opinions which they did not comprehend, and which conducted to dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhuman rebellion, contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity

* Ep. i. 10.

of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs, and reputation of honesty a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts, and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth*." Thus faithfully could the wiser sort pourtray the most prominent features of their own party. Holy men had predicted the expansion of this cursed flower from the growth of vicious roots among the people. "In the time of our ancestors," says a contemporary, "Master Thomas Comette, and brother John de Rochetaillade and other great preachers, declared that the prevalence of vices and worldly vanities would cause a deluge of woes: the people would not believe them; and lo! the tempest of war gathered and burst, and left only ruins and desolation, and, after a hundred years, it is not yet over†."

"Our poor England should be a warning to you," he adds; "what a stain has our negligence brought on our honour! What disgrace to our ecclesiastics! What shame on our nobility! What turpitude and persecution on all the people!" Cræsus ascribed his having made war to the malice of some demon: "For no one," he said, "would be so senseless as to choose war instead of peace: since in the one, children bury their fathers, and in the other, fathers their children." But of this choice, of this heresy of war, the persecutors under the banner of "the Reform," were always guilty; nor should we err in attributing it to a similar cause: for we might truly say of them, in the words addressed by the ghost of Darius to the queen, in the oldest tragedy,

Φειῦ! μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς †.

They chose wars: but what wars! "Gentlemen Hugue-

* Clarendon.

† 2d Advertissement.

‡ Persæ.

c c 2

nots," exclaims one who saw their ravages, "there is not a town in France which you have entered that has not felt the difference between your entries and those of Catholic princes. Is there a country in Europe that has not heard the groans of the poor of Languedoc? What did you not perpetrate at Nismes? at Calvisson? at Pau? at Agen? at Figeac? at Orteç? at Mombrison? at Bazas? Demand of the Catholics of Bearn, some trait of your clemency; of the inhabitants of Angoulême, the history of your goodness; of the citizens of Montaut, in the country of Foix, the instances of your mercy." Who could describe the persecutions inflicted by this terrible invader on the citizens of Lyons in 1562, and of Rouen, in the same year? Holy was the quarrel on the part of those who tried to ward off such unutterable desolation, black and fearful was that of its instruments; yet, as the defenders of the League lamented, evil men would join even their ranks, as the clearest stream must receive filth in its passage*.

Catholics then had to undergo perils of false brethren, from men answering to the description given of Biron, who had been badly brought up; Calvinists at first by education, then Catholics for sake of interest, retaining through life only indifference for both; of moral discipline, either ignorant or disdainful, passionate, obstinate, presumptuous.

In that danger of the republic, while persecuted Catholics, as Pasquier recommended, "had recourse to God by humble prayers, processions, and public rogations, the corrupt men of the time, who had imbibed this spirit of infidelity, ridiculed such things, leaving the cross to good men, and taking up for themselves the staff of the cross, of that John represented by Rabelais†."

The numbers of the latter increased; for he says that "the wars between the two parties for the last thirty-four years in France, had brought nothing but atheism‡," which was to add the last drop to the cup of persecution that was then preparing, and which shortly afterwards, in another revolutionary torrent, was

* Second Advertissement, &c. 13.

† Lett. liv. x. 6.

§ Liv. vi. 26.

to overflow the world. Here would be place for fresh sights of horror; but the time permitted now is short, and, without attending to such recent woes*, more not seen remains to see.

CHAPTER XII.

AMONG the blessed who were persecuted on account of justice by those who proclaimed themselves reformers of the Church, there was, however, a distinct class of sufferers, against whom their fury was directed in an especial manner. In the last book, we adduced the inhabitants of cloisters as constituting a distinct world, pre-eminent for its pacific character; and here we must return to that society apart, and view it exposed to all the sufferings resulting from the peculiar hostility of those who combated against truth and peace.

“All carnal are hostile to spiritual men,” says St. Augustin; “all who covet present, persecute those whom they find meditating eternal things. These are the children of Edom, who cry, Evacuate, evacuate, usque dum fundamentum in ea. In every persecution of the Church this is the cry against the houses of the spiritual. The unhappy children of Edom, wasted with misery like the daughter of Babylon, subject to the devouring solicitude of Satan and his angels, following the concupiscence of the flesh, and all its strong allurements, exclaim, Away with them! let not one remain! down with them to the foundations! Thus do they cry; and thus are the martyrs crowned †.”

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the desire of beatitude by suffering persecution for justice, entered into the original design of the monastic orders, which were a most natural and even necessary development of

* Vide Mém. pour servir à l’Hist de la Relig. pendant le xviii. Siècle, tom. ii.

† In Ps. cxxxvi.

the spirit of Christianity. They were founded, as the Church was founded, on poverty, sorrow, contradiction, crucifixion, every species of worldly distress and humiliation. "Voluntary poverty," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "and temporal persecution are sisters; and the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given to them both, not only promissively but possessively. Voluntary poverty is a kind of martyrdom; for it is externally lacerated by the points of the world, and internally stimulated by many vexations. In both, it is necessary that the mind should conquer, and in both we seek favour with God alone, without dreading to be confounded in the sight of men*." Hence, in the sublime fresco of the lower Church of Assisi, which represents the marriage of Poverty and Francis, the bride, though crowned with roses and a radiant light, is represented with bleeding feet, from having walked on thorns and sharp stones. The children of the world insult her; they are shown throwing stones at her; and striking her, and loading her with maledictions, while the choir of angels profoundly adores the mystic union†.

It was the monastic spirit to covet such persecution as the perfect joy. St. Francis, walking once with brother Leon, said to him, "God grant that the minors may give a great example of sanctity to the whole world: nevertheless observe that this is not the perfect joy. O Leon, though they should give sight to the blind, utterance to the dumb, and raise the dead, it would not be the perfect joy." Then, after a time, he said, "O brother Leon, if the brothers knew all tongues and all sciences, if they had the gift of prophecy, and could read hearts, it would not be the perfect joy." Again, after a pause he said, "O Leon, little sheep of God, if the minors should speak with the tongue of angels, if they knew the course of the stars, the virtue of plants, the secrets of the earth, the nature of birds, fish, men, and of all animals, trees, stones, and water, it would not be the perfect joy." And again further on, he said, "O brother Leon, if the brothers should convert all infidels to the Christian faith, it would not be the perfect joy;" and thus he continued to speak during many miles, till at length Leon in sur-

* S. Bern. Sien. Serm. xii.

† Chavin de Malan, Hist. de S. François, 36.

prise demanded, "O Father, I pray you, in the name of God, tell me then, what is the perfect joy?" He replied, "When we shall arrive at St. Mary's of the Angels, wet, cold, and hungry; and, after knocking at the gate, the porter will say, 'Who are you?' and we shall answer, 'Two of your brethren,' and he will rejoin, 'It is false; you are two idle vagabonds, taking alms from the really poor,' and we shall be left without all night in the snow; and we suffer this with patience, and without murmuring, believing charitably that the porter speaks thus by the permission of God; and when, constrained by the cold, we shall implore him to admit us, and he will be irritated, and will rush out to inflict blows with a great stick, and we shall bear it all, in the hope of participating in the sufferings of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, then, O Leon! be assured that this will be the perfect joy; for amongst all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which Christ vouchsafes to his servants, the greatest is to suffer for the love of God *."

"Persecutionem pro justitia sustinere," is an express prescript in the rule of St. Benedict †, which words have as much relation to the history as to the duty of the monastic state; for it sprang from persecution, and its office was to endure it meekly. "Hoc ad nostram claustralem pertinet disciplinam," says Petrus Cellensis, "pati et non facere mala: sed potius pro malis reddere bona ‡."

What is the whole of monastic history, from the beginning to the present hour, but a history of persecution! What a number of blessed men persecuted for sake of justice, both by Pagans and Moors, and heretics, pass before us in the *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, or in the archives of any other order? It is not singly either that they pass, but in whole troops at a time. Thus in the Franciscan Dypticks, we behold the passion of eighteen blessed friars, who suffered by the hands of the Turks in 1541 in the territory of Vienna; at Prague, in 1611, the passion of fourteen blessed brethren put to death by the heretics; in Palestine, in 1288, that of

* Fioretti di S. Francisco, vii.

† Cap. iv.

‡ Pet. Cell. de Disciplina Claustri ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

seven martyrs slain by the Sultan of Egypt; in Japan, in 1597, the passion of six friars along with seventeen lay brethren; at Damascus, in 1370, the passion of sixteen blessed brethren; at Potocia in Lithuania, that of five brethren slain by the Tartars in 1563; in Sicily, from 1243 to 1245, that of many brethren martyred by Frederic II. for fidelity to the Holy See; in 1343, in Vilna in Lithuania, that of thirty-six brethren slain by the Tartars; in 1340, at Armalech in Tartary, the passion of seven blessed brethren; in 1426, in an island near Cyprus, the passion of twenty-five blessed brethren, slain for the faith by the Sultan of Egypt; these were taken prisoners by his fleet on board a Venetian ship, and slain for refusing to renounce the faith; in Judæa, in 1367, on Mount Sion, the passion of twelve brethren suffered for the same constancy; in England, in 1538, the passion of thirty-two blessed brethren. Thus worthy standard-bearers of the Church were the friars, according to that verse of the Franciscan hymn, for the vespers of the seraphic father:

“ Hunc sequantur, huic jungantur,
Qui ex Egypto exeunt,
In quo duce, clara luce,
Vexilla Regis prodeunt.”

If we open the older records of the Church, victims of the earliest persecutions, we find monks in the deserts of Africa, whither they had fled, and from which they sometimes returned to the cities of men, in order to quench their thirst for martyrdom. Although Gibbon chose to say that the ascetical life of the monks was one cause of propagating Christianity among the Gentiles, it is certain that the Pagans regarded the monastic state with a horror which might excite the envy of those who have revived their spirit in modern times.

Hear how Rutilius Numatianus speaks of it. “ Passing by the island of Gorgone, I detest these rocks, the scene of a recent shipwreck. There has perished one of my fellow-citizens, gone down alive into the tomb. He was like ourselves once, sprung from noble ancestors, in possession of a noble fortune, happy by an illustrious marriage: but instigated by the furies, he has abandoned men and gods; and now a credulous exile, he takes pleasure in a filthy retreat. Miserable wretch! who hopes to

feed himself with celestial food, and who torments himself, more cruel to himself than the offended gods. Is not this sect then, I ask, more fatal than the poison of Circe? Circe used to change bodies; but now it is minds that are changed *."

The heathens spoke of the monks and hermits of the east with a contemptuous hatred, attaching ridicule even to their persons. Libanius, in his oration "*pro templis*," compares them to elephants, because some were corpulent men; all which attacks Heeren chronicles as very just and reasonable †.

For, sooth to say, every thing scandalizes the blind world. John the Baptist, says St. Jerome, was a scandal. John! than whom no one born of woman was ever greater, who was called an angel, and who baptized our Lord; he scandalized the world, because he was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leathern girdle round his loins. Thus he adds, "We who are monks are judged; and men stigmatize us as sad ‡."

Julian detested the monks; he called them cynics, and charged them with every crime. Like all the early enemies of the Christians, he singled them out for especial persecution. In Carthage, during the greatest corruption of manners, the monks were exposed to unceasing persecution. Salvian, the great preacher of the age, says, that if a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was sure to be pursued with impious expressions of scorn and ridicule.

In the fifth century, the heathen philosopher Apollonius is represented inquiring of Zachæus the Christian, from what cause monks generally were held in such peculiar hatred by many. The other replies, that it is a useful inquiry; for "*qui oderant justos delinquent*," and "*væ his qui dicunt bonum malum!*" To the objection that some were evil, he replies, "*Persona magis quam ordo displiceat, nec jure despici propter aliquos possit quod magnanimiter servatur a multis §.*"

Such was the long continuance of Pagan sentiments, that St. Jerome found the monastic state at Rome re-

* Itin. i.

† Geschichte der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalter, i. 69.

‡ Epist. xix.

§ Lib. iii. c. 3. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.

puted as vile and dishonourable; and he says that Marcella was the first woman there, who had the courage to rise superior to such a general prejudice: for she embraced its rule when St Athanasius had instructed her on his coming to Rome*.

The rise of the Arian heresy revived the persecution of monks. The emperor Valens distinguished them as the proper objects of his barbarous rage. Vast numbers of them were massacred, or sent to labour in the mines. Lucius conducted a military expedition against them, as may be read in the history of Sozomen. St. Augustin says, that the Circumcellians used to insult the Catholics for admitting of monks. What do they mean by such distinctions of names? they used to ask. But what need have we, he replied, to compare with words the sober with the intemperate, the considerate with the rash, the simple with the furious, the united with the dispersed †? Again, the monks were persecuted by Leo the Isaurian for that justice which consisted in refusing to adopt the opinion of the Jews and Arabs respecting images. Fana-ticism and ferocity were never more cruelly evinced than when directed against the monks in the Iconoclastic war, during which multitudes of religious men perished. Then were they forbidden to take any more novices; then were they held up to the ridicule of the mob, and made to march with women in mock processions. In Constantinople no monks were left, or none had courage to appear ‡. The persecution extended not alone to the persons, but even to the buildings of the monks. They were destroyed, or applied to secular purposes, and converted into barracks. The destruction of libraries which then ensued induces even Heeren to complain, for once, as if he was not their foe §. Lachanodraco, whose name indicates perversity, prefect of Thrace, conducted all the monks and nuns of that province to Ephesus. All their monasteries, and furniture, and holy things, their books, animals, and all their habits and vestments, he sold, and gave the price to the emperor, and whatever books of the fathers and relics of the saints he could find, he burnt.

* Epist. ad Principiam Virg.

† In Ps. cxxxii.

‡ In Gibbon, v. p. 100.

§ Gesch. der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalter, i. 108.

This is what the old Greek historian says. St. Athanasius relates the saying of St. Anthony, that the devil hated all Christians, but that, above all, he could not endure monks. Accordingly we find that, even all through the middle ages, monks were continually singled out for persecution by that class of men whom the bestial life, and not the human, pleased.

Pierre Michault, in his *Doctrinal de Court*, which is an allegory, representing the vices and perils of his age, represents one of the personages, Derision, as laughing at everything holy and good, and forbidding men to respect monks and priests.

“ Quant Jacobins ou les Frères Mineurs
 Pour vous monstrent seront vos sermonneurs,
 N'ensuivez point leurs ditz et leurs parolles;
 Ains blasmez fort leur vie et leurs meurs,
 Disant qu'ils sont plus horribles pécheurs
 Que ceux qui vont menant à leur escole:
 Frère Gaultier, Damp Richard, Damp Nicole,
 Ont fait cecy, et l'autre fait cela,
 Et l'autre jour ung tel les dessela.”

He concludes by recommending them to praise and extol monks who wander and forsake their monastery*.

We should remark here by the way that the poets and satirists of the middle ages, who railed against the religious orders, invariably condemn the whole female sex as being without virtue! I do not remember an instance of one who ever attacked the religious orders, and at the same time respected women. The least objectionable of these satirists, because distinguished by works of another spirit, John Bouchet, in his poem, *Les Regnards Traversans*, denies that it is possible to find a virtuous woman; and in the next sentence brings a sweeping condemnation against all monks†.

In general, when hooded men are thus held up to scorn and hatred, it is when their revilers are about some act that has no relish of salvation in it; when, like the peasant who asked blessed Jordan, of Saxony, why the seasons were worse since the Dominican and Franciscan orders sprung up, they are under the influence of some

* Gouget, *Bibliothèque Française*, tom. ix. 355.

† *Id.* xi. 256.

base popular delusion, or coinage of a vicious brain; to whom the monks would reply, that if such observations were really true, it might be explained by the fact that, having the religious orders for an example, the world had less excuse for its wickedness; and that, as St. Augustin replied to the pagans, who said, "that no rain fell since the Christians arose, they ought rather to pray than to blaspheme *." But in their sickness, or hours of repentance, such men were disposed to treat them very differently.

Hans II., count of Raperschwil, in the fourteenth century, an enterprising noble, was bitterly hostile to the monks, seizing prisoner the abbot Conrad, of Einsiedeln, and plundering his castle of Pfeffikon, so that he fell, in consequence, under the ban of the Church; yet, when the plague visited St. Gall, he became so altered a man and docile, that he not only fulfilled immediately the conditions on which it was offered to be withdrawn, but also took the abbey of Einsiedeln into the especial protection of his house. This was the plague which destroyed more than a third of the inhabitants all over Europe. In 1348 sixty thousand died in Basil, and ninety thousand in Lubeck. In the Necrology of St. Gall it is thus mentioned: "*Anniversarium omnium virorum, mulierum et puerorum nostri monasterii, qui in 1349 in illa magna et inaudita epidemia obierunt; quorum numerus se extendet ad duo millia et circiter †.*"

Monks suffered persecution, too, in the middle ages, from men of violence and blood, for defending the material interests entrusted to them. Not to speak of their sufferings from kings and national enemies, as when, after the death of St. Boniface, St. Sturmes, the abbot of Fulda, was the object of calumny, accused of being the enemy of the state, and banished by king Pepin to a monastery of France, in the diocese of Rouen, which is supposed to have been Jumièges, from which his innocence being recognised, he returned to Fulda, where his monks received him with joy, and as when the Normans, under William the Conqueror, looked with an evil eye upon the monks of Croyland, it is certain that they were often troubled by profligate neighbours, who unjustly and cruelly afflicted them. Those of Croyland were some-

* In Psalm lxxx.

† Necrolog. Fabar. sec. 14.

times exposed to great danger from the ferocity of persons of the fen *. The Benedictines, in their hymn, address the saints of their order in these words :

“ Vixistis inter aspides,
Sævisque cum draconibus ;”

Though dead to all sentiments of avarice, so that they continue :

“ Gemmas et auri pondera
Et dignitatum culmina
Calcastis, et fœdissima
Quæ mundus offert gaudia,”

yet had they to defend the property of their respective communities against unjust men, whose enterprises involved them often in grievous persecution. Thus Conrad, Baron de Seldenburen, who in 1100 founded that solemn abbey of Engelberg, amidst the snows of Unterwalden, in which he took the habit, being its first abbot, was martyred for maintaining the just cause of his monastery. Two seigneurs seized some property of the abbey of St. Gall in 758. St. Othmar, the abbot, complained to king Pepin ; and this prince commanded the two usurpers to make restitution ; but as they invented excuses for not complying, St. Othmar again set out to the court of Pepin. These lords, hearing of his intention, had him waylaid and then thrown into a dungeon ; then they persuaded a bad monk to accuse him of a crime, for which he was condemned as if guilty, and confined in a prison, in the island of Stein, for many years ; which cruel persecution he endured in silence, till God called him to himself in 758, on the sixteenth of November, when the Church honours his memory.

The holy Gobert, a monk of Villers, of whom we spoke elsewhere, met his death by a fall which he received from his horse, as he was hastening to the duchess of Brabant to intercede for the monks of a monastery in Louvain whom she was unjustly treating. He was lifted up by his companions and entreated to return. “ No,” said he, “ I will not return without fulfilling my business ; and for the cause of the Church I am ready not only for labour, but to meet death.” Thus he proceeded on his way, and entered the presence-chamber of the duchess,

* Hist. Croylandens. in Rer. Anglic. Script. tom. i.

covered with blood; which she seeing, was greatly alarmed, and begged to know who had treated him so barbarously. "My lady duchess," replied the venerable old man, "it is you who have procured these wounds for me and this loss of blood." The duchess answered, "Most holy father, for all the wealth of the world I would not have done this to you." But he answered: "If you had not unjustly oppressed the monks of this convent, these things would not have happened to me; for, having heard a certain rumour as to what injuries you were about to inflict upon the said Church, that I might beseech you for them, I was delayed by making over-great haste; as the philosopher says, Every impetus has often difficulties: hence it was that I fell suddenly under my horse, and my horse fell upon me, and thus my face became bloody, as you now behold it." The duchess now began to grieve with great sincerity, and to ask if he could think of any medicine that would do him good. "If indeed, most noble lady, you wish me to be healed, the remedy is in your power." To which she replied, "That there was no pain or money that she would not expend to cure him." But Gobert answered: "If you will leave the said Church in quiet possession of its rights, you will presently see me cured in body, and with a cheerful and joyous mind." At these words the duchess relented, and promised to give perfect satisfaction; and then the pious Gobert returned home, but it was to be helped into the infirmary of the monastery, where he reposed his exhausted frame, and whence he soon after departed to our Lord*.

The troubles of monastic superiors, on such occasions, may be collected from the letter addressed to king Louis VII. by Armanus, abbot of Manlieu, and brother of Peter of Cluny. "We fly as suppliants to our lord the king; for on all sides we are disquieted by men who fear neither God nor men, and exercise a tyranny over us; to whom, when we offer justice, they, as enemies of justice, count it for nothing. At this moment Chatard de Bosot, a robber and violator of the king's highway, confiding in the assistance of some profligate men, and especially of his uncle, Eustache de Monton, seized

* Hist. Monast. Villariensis, lib. ii. c. li. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecd. tom. iii.

the goods of some of our people on the public road. We addressed our complaints to the lord bishop, without finding one who would oppose himself as a shield for the house of Israel. Being destitute, therefore, of all defence, as well ecclesiastical as secular, we beseech your majesty to stretch out your right hand to help us*." Monasteries owed their safety often solely to the general impression that divine vengeance was sure to overtake all who injured them. To this we find allusion in the Chronicle of Mount Casino: "The invaders of this monastery," says the writer, "have never prospered: witness the sudden death of count Rodulf the Norman, and that of his hundred and fifty soldiers, in the space of two years†." "From the beginning of this rising place to its old age," says an historian of St. Gall, "never were there wanting to our monks persecutions, tribulations, detractions, envyings; and unless the sanctity of Father Gall, or of the brethren who were from time to time present in our afflictions, had borne assistance, Sidonius, bishop of Constance, or abbot Ruodmann, would have wholly destroyed it and brought it to nothing‡."

"Know, O posterity," says the old chronicler of another monastery, "that the devil and his angels, from the beginning of this church, have much envied it; attacking it in various ways, causing often great tribulations, and attempting to extinguish it. But the good Lord hath always preserved this vessel from the raging waters; for though sometimes He seems to sleep, yet doth He ever watch the tears and prayers of his little servants, and cause a great calm. Beware, then, O men that are to come after, beware of these cruel enemies, who do not pass with us passing, who do not sleep with us sleeping, who do not die with us dying. But the occasions which they seize are the mutual envyings of abbots and monks; for that is the vulnerable side; and it is by the sword of discord that they can best prevail§." That persecution, which we observed before as being common to all just men, in consequence of their admonishing the great, fell upon no class so heavily as upon monks, who, as we

* Epist. Lud. VII. lxxvii. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi.

† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. lib. ii. c. 76.

‡ Burkhard, De Casibus S. Galli, Præloquium.

§ Chronic. Morigniacensis Mon. lib. i. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

remarked on the former occasion, never hesitated to exercise their ministry before the most cruel tyrants, as in the early instance of Iscalicus, related by Sozomen *. St. Stephen, whom the monastery of Sherbourn sent to Citeaux as its third abbot, gave such offence to the duke of Burgundy by not allowing him to hold his court there, that he saw all his supplies at once cut off. Robert, the venerable prior of St. Evroult, having not to dread the inflexible rigour of duke William, resolved not to appear at his summons ; so on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of January, after singing at vespers, when they came to the Antiphon, "*Peccata mea, Domine,*" he left the church of the abbey, mounted his horse with two monks, Foulques and Urson, and set out for Italy. Such were the monastic sufferings during the middle ages.

But as yet, whatever woes the monks endured were light, compared with the persecution which was preparing for them in the sixteenth century, when Luther and his peers arose. Hitherto the prominent feature of their history in the west, during the middle ages, has been the amazing extension of their communities, and the favour bestowed on them by the rich and powerful. In general the world itself seemed to admire and pay them reverence. During the wars with the Moors in Spain and other countries, this respect for their character was manifested even by the infidels, who allowed them singular exemptions. Yusef Abul Hagig, the Moorish king of Grenada, enjoined in his warfare mercy and protection to all friars and persons of holy and recluse life. But now, before the ruinous sweep which overwhelmed all beauteous and holy things, approved and sanctified of yore, the monks through many lands must suffer persecution, such as they had never until then experienced. When the tempest, caused by warring minds, commenced, the monks were the first who felt its fury. The spirits whom it impelled with stormy blast of hell, executed with inconceivable rapidity their task of desolation. None could the monks any longer trust amidst that deluge. Some of their chief assailants were men who had shortly before loaded them with favours. Henry VIII., only a few years before his revolt, had sent a thousand gold crowns to the minors at Jerusalem, assuring them that from his youth he had a peculiar affection for

* Lib. vi. c. 40.

their sacred family, on account of its imitation of the evangelic life *. The persecution of the monks, though carried on amidst the shrieks, and moans, and lamentations of the multitude, was, nevertheless, accomplished chiefly by means of that mockery which we lately remarked as a characteristic of the agents who worked in the interest of the new opinions. "It was laughter," says a French historian, "which destroyed the monasteries of Germany †." "All your works take wonderfully," says Froben to Luther; relating, with the effusion of a bookseller's joy, their mutual successes. "I have not ten copies left. Never did any books sell so well ‡." Martinus Dorpius, complimenting Erasmus on one of his satires, says, "This book will gain you more favour, and friendship, and celebrity; I may add, also, more emolument §." Ridicule and calumny were, in fact, the most effective weapons that could be employed against them in the beginning. "The monks defended themselves but ill; they were not accustomed to use the arms which their adversaries wielded with such skill. They could not laugh. Lucian and Aristophanes were unknown to them: they made use then of indignation, which was sometimes found in their masters—Scot, Durandus, Peter Lombard—minds the least addicted to raillery that ever existed; they were, in consequence, sure to be defeated ||." "Besides," let us observe, "the monks could not nourish rancour. Their rule enjoined the forgetfulness of injuries under penalty of sin ¶;" and the world was not disposed to listen to discussions in which no personal attacks were made.

We have already alluded to the number of friars who suffered martyrdom by the hands of these implacable men. The Martyrologium Franciscanum contains proof; and one may conceive the spirit with which they suffered, from reading the epitaph on the friars who were martyred by the heretics at Angoulême in 1568:

"Fælices animæ, quorum per funera Christi
Crescit Evangelium! vester pro semine sacro

* Wadding. tom. vii. 279.

† Ap. id. ii. 225.

‡ Id. ii. 50.

VOL. XI.

† Audin, Hist. de Luther, ii.

§ Philologic. Epist. 160.

¶ Id. ii. 67.

Est cruor, ille piis inolescit mentibus ultro,
 Ut quanto magis innocui profunditur usquam
 Sanguinis, hoc vernat magis, augescitque premendo,
 Sancta fides viresque novas calcata resumit *."

Where the persecutions did not amount to imprisonment and death, it was insult, it was the mockery of ruffians on the highway. Thus St. Paschal Baylon, a Spanish Franciscan, being deputed to visit the general of the order then at Paris, for the affairs of his province, experienced on his journey thither cruel outrages from the Huguenots, who were then masters of almost all the towns through which he passed. Walking barefoot, and in his habit, the whole way he was in danger. Pursued with stones and staves, he on one occasion received a blow which maimed him for the rest of his life. A poor nun, sister Jeanne de Jussie, kept a journal of the horrors inflicted on Geneva by the reformers, till the day that she and her sisters were driven out and exiled; and a late historian declares that he knows nothing comparable for pathetic interest to her simple narrative. After the sermons of the preachers, she says, that the hearers "used to leap upon the altars like brute animals, and deride the image of our Redemption, dismount the bells, and raze the monasteries to the ground." "They often came to spy," she says, "round our convent of St. Claire, but our Lord intimidated them. The poor nuns were all night long at vigils, praying God for the holy faith and for the world; and all took the discipline after mattins, begging mercy from God; and then, with lighted tapers, they said a part of the fine Benedicatur, bowing down to the very ground at the name of Jesus Christ; and the others hailed the wounds of our Lord, and the tears of the Virgin Mary, and other beautiful prayers. And every day they made the procession through the garden, and often twice in the day, with the holy litany and barefooted, upon the white frost, to obtain mercy for the poor world †."

* Martyrolog. Franciscan. Septemb. 19.

† Le Levain du Calvinisme, ou Commencement de l'Hérésie de Genève; fait par Révérende Sœur Jeanne de Jussie, alors Religieuse à Sainte-Claire de Genève, et, après sa sortie, Abbessé du Couvent d'Anyssi à Chambéry, 1611. ap. Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 194.

From the persecution of the Jesuits in somewhat later times heaven also reaped an abundant harvest. In vain had they sought to conciliate men who were scandalized at the simple poverty of the blessed Francis and of his holy family, by following such counsels as the ancient moralist administered to his friend: "*Asperum cultum et intonsum caput, et negligentiore barbâ evita* *." "Their self-devotion," to use the words of an historian, "their zeal, their calm judgment in promoting the cause of the faith, made them too terrible to its enemies to allow them to be regarded with less than mortal hatred. They might embellish literature, elevate philosophy, destroy Paganism, but their motives were not of this world: their efforts were against the spirit of the world; and the world had no sympathy with them, nor would it award to them the tribute of its praise. The prayer of their illustrious founder, pleading that their efficiency might never be thawed away in the sunshine of popularity, was heard in heaven; and from the envy of some, the malice of others, and the hostility of many more, they continued to suffer persecution for the sake of justice."

Among the aphorisms of the reformers we read as follows: "*Jesuitæ vero, qui se maxime nobis opponunt, aut necandi, aut si hoc commodè fieri non potest, ejiciendi aut certe mendaciis et calumniis opprimendi sunt* †." Nor was it only the open enemies of truth who thus attacked them; for at different times they were cruelly persecuted on political grounds by men professing obedience to the Church. Though their loyalty, as in the time of the League, was put to the severest test, and proved irreproachable ‡, yet were they accused of failing in respect to it by men who could not forgive the constancy and fortitude with which they had resisted their own errors. The pleading of Pasquier against the Jesuits is an astonishing monument of credulity, misrepresentation, and intolerance, though he is so proud of it as to insert it in his great work §. Ascribing to them the

* Senec. Epist. v.

† Calvin, apud Becan, t. i. Opusc. xvii. Aphor. 15. De Modo Propagandi Calvinismum.

‡ Vide Documents Historiques concernant la Compagnie de Jésus, nos. v. et vi.

§ Recherches de la France, iii. 44.

doctrine of tyrannicide, he says, in allusion to their missions, that "it is a brutal lesson worthy of a Jesuit's mind, nourished amidst the savages of India." To such falls are men of highest worth exposed when sacrificing to the spirit of a party. By their expulsion from France, in the reign of Louis XV., there seemed to be left nothing for the violence and sacrilege of future enemies to accomplish ; and the sincerity of their enemies may be estimated from the fact, which excited no attention, that the attorney-general Pelletier de St. Fargeau, who was a Jansenist, after accusing the Jesuits, at this epoch, of professing the doctrine of regicide, subsequently gave his vote for the death of Louis XVI *.

In the monastic persecutions generally there was nothing marvellous in later times ; for, on the whole, the new opinions had created a disposition which was at such irreconcilable hostility with the evangelic counsels, that, as a necessary consequence, all who sought to follow them, under whatever habit, incurred abhorrence. Those, it is true, who lived nearer to the time of the monks were not so inveterate. It has been remarked that the greatest and most popular dramatists of the Elizabethan age held the religious orders in much reverence. The members whom they introduce are almost always holy and venerable men ; and as no one would bring unpopular opinions prominently forward in a play intended for representation, we may be sure that the public in this respect regarded them in the same light. In these plays we find nothing that resembles the coarse ridicule with which the monks were assailed two generations later, by dramatists who wished to please the multitude. Massinger, who shows so great a fondness for all priests, has introduced a Jesuit with praise upon the stage ; Ford assigns a highly creditable part to the friar for whom, as we remarked elsewhere, Shakspeare shows so marked a partiality ; Sir William Temple condescends to reckon the primitive monks and modern friars in the list of the great, and wise, and good part of mankind †. But as Protestantism was to be progressive, these opinions among the same class became obsolete, and at

* St. Victor, *Tableau de Paris*, tom. iv. part ii.

† Essay on Health and Long Life.

length the mere sight of a monk was sufficient to influence its votaries with rage and scorn ;

——— “for no falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness.”

“Know you not, master,” says the poet, “that to some kinds of men their graces serve them but as enemies.” Such were the monks in these latter times. “The bare sight of one of that order,” says Rubichon, “really embitters the existence of an Englishman. If he catches a glimpse of a monk at Barcelona, Cadiz, or Lisbon, he cannot think of any thing else. It is in vain that these good religious men offer and give hospitality ; that they have libraries at the disposal of all strangers ; that their churches and convents are full of paintings, statues, candelabras, and objects of admirable art, which all persons may enjoy as if their own property. In vain, that they have every day delicious music ; and, in addition to all this, that they not only present every thing gratuitously, but with the utmost courtesy and benignity. Nothing can cure this madness of the English ; and under their ignoble hands these institutions perish, and I fear for ever *.” Yet the countrymen of this author, under the impulse of infidelity in its three forms of atheism, deism, and rationalism, had long before singled out the monks as the proper objects of persecution wherever they could insinuate their own dragon feet. St. Paul says, “*Fructus Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas, adversus hujusmodi non est lex* †.” The world, under the influence of the new opinions, declares that these are the fruits of monachism, and that there must be a law to put them down. The cruel ferocity of the revolutionary agents in conducting the persecution against the monks equalled that of the reformers during the Lutheran tempest ; and in proof it will be sufficient to cite a narrative related to me by the same beloved friend whose account of the hermits of Montserrat was given in the last book. I shall repeat his words from the beginning, for at the sound methinks I

* Du Mécanisme de la Société en France et en Angleterre.

† Ad Gal. v.

am in his presence, as if still he lived, cherishing me as a child, and not a visitor; and as when journeying, exhausted and oppressed with the monotonous gloom of mournful barren rocks and flakes of snow, slowly falling upon Alpine summits, when the wind is hushed, I have beheld with joy the herdsman descending from his hut to welcome the stranger with an outstretched hand and smile of charity, and lead him to the fire, over which he will prepare his food; so do I hail the recollection of the look and conversation of this benign old man, which, even while recording bitter woes, were ever like his heart, serene.

"I will relate," he said to me on one occasion, "an incident horribly gay. There was a young man of my acquaintance, who espoused the daughter of a certain rich Jew, supposing that his father-in-law would pay his debts; though he was mistaken in the issue. He was sufficiently ungrateful to me afterwards, but that regards not the present purpose. Well, I went by invitation to the marriage banquet. There were about fifty guests. I came late; however, place was found for me at the end of the table. The company was composed of men of those hideous countenances, with which I had become familiar, seeing them often pass before me as I presided in the office of the certain great minister you wot of. As every one present knew me, I was greeted on arriving with the question, 'How does the citizen minister?' 'O well,' I answered with a smile they could interpret, 'the citizen is well:' none of them required to be told what my sentiments really were; for besides my long emigration, when I fled from their persecutions, I always, though indeed in a Socratic way, in order to save my throat, spoke home-truths, and never denied my principles. At the far end sat a man of the most sinister aspect, with the true air of a consummate villain: he grinned constantly at me, and darted side looks, as much as to say, he is not of our party. At last he broke silence, 'Citizens,' said he, 'let me relate what occurred when I was in Switzerland, being appointed, as you know, to the government of the Vallais. Being at Freybourgh, I heard there was a convent of Carthusians on the heights above the town. I had a report made to me concerning them. It stated that they were brave men, who only thought about their salvation.'

Hearing him thus calmly relate the virtues of the monks, I began to think that I had been mistaken in my judgment of the man, but I was soon corrected. 'They were,' he continued, with a tone of scorn ill-suppressed, 'good men, who rose at midnight, eat maigre; they had excellent fish, and performed all the exercises to which they were bound, according,' he added, making at the same time a demoniacal grimace, 'to the rules of the holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church. So I sent to them some men of arms in disguise; and one fine night they seized these monks, and threw them all out of the windows, after which flight into the chasm below; no one ever heard them preach or sing again.' Such was his tale, and a loud laugh of fiendish pleasure greeted it."

But to return to the persecution of the sixteenth century, to those

"Who rose like shadows between man and God:
Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven,
Was worshipp'd by the world o'er which they strode,
For the true sun it quenched,—whose power was given
But to destroy, to make a world of ruins."

Conservatives too, perhaps, like their descendants later, they would have styled themselves; but if it were asked, of what? Assuredly amidst piles of mournful ruins scattered every where, including moral as well as material things, the questioner might pause long for a satisfactory reply; though if there were indeed any barbarism, any abuse which had long been denounced for reprobation by the wise and holy of the Middle Ages, that, in consequence of their systematic indifference, may be said to have been preserved by them, and left to spread its roots, and run riot under every form of grotesque degeneracy.

To obliterate from this earth the very type of peace, one might have supposed, from prior reasoning, would be the work of hands whose office was war: but the opinion would have been found erroneous. The men who first destroyed the monasteries were not warriors; for the hardy demons that rushed forth at other's bidding were but blind instruments: the real agents were either scribes, whose sword was a pen; or tyrants, who only shed blood

upon the scaffold. Let us for a moment mark them at their work. Many affecting piteous accounts are extant of the deplorable scenes of destruction acted within the once peaceful sanctuaries, which we visited with such delight in the preceding book. The devastation of the monasteries in Germany by the Lutherans is recorded in great detail. Almost each house has left a record of its fall*.

Some would remove the blame from the promoter; but as a late historian says, after observing that Osian-der and Ecolampadius, and many others, accused Luther of the rebellion of the Thuringian peasants; at this day we have no need to call on his disciples to give evidence on either side. In his own books we find, almost on every page, a brutal appeal against monks, a cry of fury against convents, the sanctification of robbery, the glorification of rape. The texts are plain enough; and it is not we who have invented them†. He indeed testifies himself, that the superb Remonstrances of Churches made many conversions to his doctrine‡. All could not, like Albert de Brandenburg, obtain an hereditary principedom as the reward of apostasy and of robbery with a safe conscience, as when that wretched follower seized Prussia from the Teutonic order; but all might hope to come in like the nobles of Germany and England, for a share of the spoils of the nearest monastery.

In the dialogues of Montaud, printed in 1581, in which he shows "the profit that would accrue to Christendom from making an inventory of the relics of holy bodies," in order to dispose of the materials, and the political resources that would be found in seizing on the monasteries, all the theories and sophisms of later governments were developed at length§. Then was employed against religious houses, as at the present day in Spain, and Portugal, and Switzerland, "an intelligence," to use lord Bacon's words, "between incen-

* Bodonis Chron. Clusin. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. tom. iii.

† Hist. de Luther, ii. 245.

‡ Id. ii. 237.

§ Le Miroir des François, ap. Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 436.

diaries and robbers, the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it *."

In England, "to abuse the poor commons," says an ancient writer, "it was told them that by suppressing of the monasteries, they should never hear of tax or subsidy any more. This indeed was as pleasing a bait for the people as could be devised, and it took accordingly: they bit willingly at it; but the hook sticks in their jaws to this day †."

The man of peace mourned the while, and asked,

"Quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis? inquit;
Heu miseræ cives! non hostem, inimicæque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis ‡."

Against monks the new apostles ran like centaurs with keen arrows armed, as to the chace they on the earth were wont. There is an old history of the false reformation in St. Gall, which is entitled "Sabbatha," written by a saddler of perverted brain, who seems unconscious of the aptitude of the title which he has chosen; for a true Sabbata it was, like that of the children of darkness, and of the mysticism of night. The stormy blast of hell, as if escaped to the upper world, with resistless fury drove innumerable spirits on to destroy the sanctuary of peace.

Every town and hamlet which possessed one in its neighbourhood, witnessed then such scenes as passed in London in the year 1780, which have been described with so much force by a great living painter of the manners of that age.

"Formidable multitudes of fierce, mocking, destroying men, swarming on like insects; noise, smoke, light, darkness, frolic, anger, laughter, groans, plunder, fear, and ruin: the holy vestments of priests, and the rich fragments of altar vessels, borne as trophies by leaders like hideous madmen; after them, a dense throng, some singing, some shouting in triumph; some quarrelling among themselves; some menacing the spectators as they passed; some with precious works of saintly art, on which they spent their rage as if they had been alive, rending them and hurling the scattered morsels high into

* Of Ch. Controv.

† Jerusalem and Babel, p. 392.

‡ Æn. v. 670.

the air,—a vision of demon heads and savage eyes, and sticks and iron bars uplifted in the air and whirled about; a bewildering horror in which so much was seen, and yet so little, which seemed so long and yet so short, in which there were so many phantoms, not to be forgotten all through life, and yet so many things that could not be observed in that distracting glimpse; it flitted onward and was gone*.”

Then was swept away in one fell havoc what savages had spared, and many holy generations venerated—the altar and the shrine—what a Charlemagne, an Alfred, a St. Louis, a St. Henry, had offered as a perpetual memorial of their pious gratitude—gifts inestimable, the workmanship of canonized saints, over which, while on earth, they had prayed and wept—so beauteous, so symbolical of faith and love, that all had thought the region of the angels decked with them.

St. Jerome, relating of Neopatianus, that he had always longed to see the monasteries of Egypt, counts his death most happy, because it had saved him from witnessing their destruction; but as years had revolved, and hallowed more by each fresh harvest for the skies the soil that yielded their returns, after so many ages, when the creations of faith had attained to still greater alliances with heaven, the spectacle of ruin produced by these new destroyers in their mad brutishness would have cost him a still keener pang; we know in fact from history what was the grief of the just who witnessed it.

Sir William Weston, the last prior of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, died of sorrow on the seventh of May, 1540, the day on which that house was dissolved, the promise of a thousand pounds per annum proving so little effectual to console a heart like his.

“Before the dissolution of the minor religious houses,” says Weever, “the plot was laid for the suppression of the rest:” so justly could writers who adopted the new opinions discern the secret springs of this monstrous exhibition. In some places, even the visitors petitioned in favour of preserving the monastery. Thus Gifford writes to Cromwell in behalf of the house of Wolstrobe, saying, “The governor is well beloved of all the inha-

* Dickens.

bitants adjoining; a right honest man, having right religious persons, being priests of right good conversation, and living religiously. The house without any slander, and standing in a wet ground, very solitary; keeping such hospitality, that except singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half so much land more as they may spend. Such a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seen the like, having no more lands than they have. God be ever my judge, as I do write unto you ever the troth, which very pity alone causeth me to write." From Garandon *.

In others, the zeal of the monks for justice, and their ability in defending it, only accelerated the ruin of the house. This was the event in the Franciscan convent at Cavan, where were many celebrated fathers, as Richard Brackley, who was provincial in Ireland, and father Eugenius Digby, an eminent preacher, noted for his moving eloquence as he addressed the people with closed eyes. This latter spared not the enemies of religion, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but preached boldly against them; by which, we read, he occasioned the ruin of his monastery †.

But no where, when the ancient laws of religion were bent to the mundane wisdom, could the old proverb, which expressed the fatality of such a measure, "*Laissez le moustier où il est,*" recal men to consider in their heart. All reflection seemed for ever gone: nothing could inspire the destroyers with any pity. Elizabeth would not spare even the Franciscan convent of Greenwich, lately restored by Mary, in which she had been baptized, but applied it to the profane purpose of her palace, which it joined ‡. It was the wise affirmation of the Swiss heretics, that "in a pig-sty, and under the gallows, one would find as much grace as in *Einsiedeln* §.

The havoc made of abbeys, and of their precious works of art, at Soissons, by the Protestant soldiers, when they became masters of the city, as described by its historians, may convey an idea of what took place every where on

* Strype, ii. 35.

† Monastic Hibern. 288.

‡ Wadding. An. Min. xvi.

§ Von Arx. Gesch. S. Gall. ii. 488.

these occasions. The destroyers were like greyhounds that have newly slipped the leash, sticking their fangs into the victim, and, having rent him piecemeal, bearing away the tortured limbs. At the abbey of St. Medard, destruction was the work of an instant. Nothing was spared. When they had taken every object that was visible, they sought with pickaxe and hammers for concealed treasures, sounding the wells and piercing the vaults and walls. The whole place resounded with the cries, laughter, and the confused vociferations of this army of demolishers, and with the noise of stones, wood, brass, iron, and glass falling on the pavement. These creatures, animated by fanaticism and avarice, seemed to have a supernatural force in moving enormous masses, letting down immense bells, tearing up rails, splitting beams, and overthrowing columns*.

Who could believe it, if we had not history and the events now passing to attest the fact, amidst this desolation, hypocrisy was able to play a distinguished part? At all times, even in the act of revolt against divine laws, there are men who seek to propitiate Heaven by promises of compensation. The blind bard, by whom nothing human was unseen, has noticed the phenomenon in his fable, where he represents the companions of Ulysses feeding on the oxen of the sun, in despite of the prohibition, and then offering sacrifice to the immortals, and vowing to make ample amends to the sun, when they should arrive in Ithaca†.

In like manner the destroyers of the monasteries pretended to have measures in reserve, by which their acts of spoliation would be made conducive to the interests of religion. They said by using well what they had seized it might be consecrated; as if of theft and sacrilege they could do a charitable deed. They would build hospitals, and schools, and alms-houses. Thus the queen of Navarre, eager to hasten the work of Protestantism in Béarn, resolved to establish a college there to instruct youth in what she termed true religion. The site of the Dominican convent at Orthez appeared favourable to her design. The building was of great extent, since it contained a hundred and thirty friars, and was in a beautiful situation. By her orders they

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 425.

† Odys. xii. 340.

were constrained to abandon it; and professors from England and Scotland were introduced, to remodel every thing according to the plans of Calvin. An inscription in Latin verse was placed over the great portal, which in prose may be translated thus. "Formerly the foul waters of Styx, joined with those of Lethe, defiled and buried in oblivion the splendour and purity of the ancient doctrine, and placed in this house the imps of hell, to chase from it the daughters of heaven. But Jupiter, the all-powerful, has caused Minerva to arise, in the person of Jane Albret, who has conjured and put to flight the children of darkness, who, victorious over ignorance and error, recalling the banished sciences, the exiled muses, makes minds ascend by a course of study to the source of true knowledge. Thus the celebrated princess Jane makes to revive in Orthez, the glory of Athens, the virtues of her ancestors, the splendour of her country, and desires to obtain in all hearts an immortal reputation *."

The destruction of the monasteries was the great work accomplished by the advocates of the false reformation. For a moment they exulted in it; but the joy of their triumph soon became clouded over with misgivings and remorse. Even Luther began to regret the success of his own labour. "In the day of judgment, who knows," he was heard to say, "whether these monks may not be judges of us all †!" He felt, as Michelét says, "his interior faith weakened when he saw his work externally accomplished. He wished that what he had written had never been written. Doubts began to pursue him, doubts in the most fearful form, involving him towards the close of his life in discouragement and despair: he says that "the devil appeared to him, and tried to appal him by repeating these few words, 'Thou hast destroyed the monasteries.'"

Innumerable complaints arose from amongst the professors of the new creed, who lamented this prodigious ruin.

* Poeydavant, *Hist. des Troubles en Béarn dans le 16e Siècle*, tom. i. liv. iv.

† Audin, *Hist. de Luther*, ii. 243.

"There were also in the reign of king Henry VIII.," says Camden, "(if it be not a crime to mention them,) monuments of the piety of our forefathers, built to the honour of God, the propagation of the Christian faith and good learning, and for the support of the poor. About the thirty-sixth year of that king, a torrent, as it were, that has broken down the banks, broke in upon the ecclesiastical state of England, and to the great surprise of the whole world, and oppression of the nation, at once threw down the greatest part of the religious with their curious structures, most of which in a short time were every where pulled down, their revenues squandered away, and the riches which had been consecrated to God by the pious munificence of the English from the time they received Christianity, were, as it were, in a moment dispersed, and, if I may use the word without offence, profaned. There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders; I am sorry to hear it. But (not to give them any just offence), let them be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten, that our ancestors were, and we are Christians; since there never were more certain indications and glorious monuments of Christian piety than those *."

"It may seem, peradventure, displeasing to some," says Weever, in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to his work on funeral monuments, "for that I do speak so much of and extol the ardent piety of our forefathers, in the erection of abbeys, priories, and such like sacred foundations. To the which I answer with Camden, 'that I hold it not fit for us to forget, that our ancestors were, and we are of the Christian profession, and that there are not extant any other more conspicuous and certain monuments of their zealous devotion towards God, than these monasteries with their endowments, for the maintenance of religious persons, neither any other seed-plots besides these, from whence Christian religion and good literature were propagated over this our island.'"

Marsham also speaks with horror and sorrow of the fall of the monasteries. "Now the fatal day," he says, "arrived for our monasteries, of which nothing but

* Camden's *Britannia*, Pref.

some half-ruined walls remain. Religion has now little influence on the heart, and the old saying is verified :

‘ *Religntem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.*’

We see, alas ! alas ! the most august stupendous temples dedicated to the eternal God, now, under pretence of abolishing superstition, desecrated and ruined, and horses stabled at the altars of Christ, and the relics of martyrs dug up and dispersed * !”

Even the raving Burton says, “ Methinks our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all : they might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings and everlasting monuments of our forefathers’ devotion, consecrated to pious uses†.”

Such were the palinodes sung in times nearer the catastrophe, by those who came in time to spy the mournful havoc ; and we, to whom only ruins without any local remembrances are left, can well comprehend their sorrow and their shame. “ Not seldom it hath chanced for men to do what they had gladly left undone ;” but things past recovery are hardly cured with exclamations. It was not marvellous that many thought a cleaving curse was their inheritance. It was too late then to complain, like Cæsar, wishing to stop the slaughter :

“ et qui jussa per annos
Tot ducis implescent magni crudelia semper,
Nunc solum, cum justa dedit mandata, rebellant ‡.”

The monks are dead ; but in the ruins of their ancient dwellings, of which the stones merit veneration, and, as Dante says of Rome, the very soil itself, as having been predicted in the Holy Scriptures, they still speak to us ; they still proclaim, that to suffer persecution for justice is a glorious and a blessed thing. How oft in childhood have I thus listened to them :

* Monast. Anglic. tom. i. an. 1655.

† Anatomy of Melanch. part i. sec. 2.

‡ Luc. sup. iii.

"I knew not who had framed these wonders then,
 Nor had I heard the story of their deeds;
 But dwellings of a race of wiser men,
 And monuments of faith not changing creeds,
 Tell their own tale to him who wisely heeds
 The language which they speak; and now to me,
 In ruins overgrown with tangled weeds,
 The sacred lesson few are skilled to see,
 Interpreted those scrolls of mortal mystery."

I found a stranger once in Netley, on the eve of St. John, standing contemplative, who, after some space, accosted me. It was some holy solitary man, who told me he had been singing vespers to himself within the ruins of the church, and a thought had been suggested to him by a verse of the Magnificat, which he was eager to communicate. "The poor persecuted monks," he said, "are now for ever blessed in the centre of all felicity, while the proud, who made their dwelling-place a heap of ruins, as we see, have been scattered in the conceit of their heart, and dispersed through all the wastes of doubt, distrust, and error." Thus did the ruins assist his meditation.

Let us again visit these abandoned sanctuaries :

"Desertosque videre locos litusque relictum."

As a poet mournfully sings of Scala in the duchy of Amalphi, fallen from its ancient state :

"Quis parcat lacrymis, dum tanti nominis urbem
 Cernit in obscurum degenerasse nemo?"

The elder Pliny says, that the houses which had been once inhabited by heroes of a noble race, lamented when they passed to new and unworthy masters, and that the very walls reproached the cowards who entered a place consecrated by the monuments of virtue. A modern author, too, says, "It may be generally remarked, that the more nobly a mansion has been tenanted in the day of its prosperity, the viler are its inhabitants in the day of its decline. Thus boors are the only inhabitants of Croyland; gypsies of Netley, while other religious houses are now possessed by the same class as that which caused

their overthrow, 'men who little seek to find the way to heaven by doing deeds of hospitality.'" In France the contrast is more palpable. Malefactors inhabit Clairvaux and Fontevraud; even in Italy, gamblers at St. Pancras hold their lottery in Florence, as thieves are said to nestle in the old Alhambra. There is a zeal, indeed, to transfer these ruins to paper, and raise a monument of artistic fame; but, with our Lord's rebuke in memory, Your fathers slew the prophets, and you now build their monuments, such creations convey no solid title. Of what avail is it to pourtray or visit these mouldering remains, to gaze on these vistas of arches and pillars, and listen to the wind within the broken towers? 'The living mysticism is gone, the spiritual light obscured; for the monk has forsaken the place; no more is seen there the glorious poor of Christ, or the dark and learned brother of St. Benedict, coming forth with soft and gentle step from secret cell, to sing the praises of God, and to console the wanderer in search of peace. "*Quare non mœreat vultus meus; quia civitas domus sepulchrorum patris mei deserta et portæ ejus combustæ igni* * ?"

"Alas!" as St. Gregory the Great says of Rome in his day, after the destruction by barbarians: "*postquam defecerunt homines, etiam parietes cadunt* †."

The men who chased away the just from these abodes were cunning persecutors. Cæsar would not detract from any fame of ancient places; he permitted conquered races to retain whatever had made them celebrated throughout the world ‡. The Phrygian forbids to trample on the dust of Hector; but the policy of Luther's followers was different. They persecuted beyond what seemed to them defeat and death. As poets say,

"They thought to act a solemn comedy
Upon the painted scene of this old world,
And to attain their own peculiar ends
By some such plot of mingled good and ill
As others weave;
Ignoble hearts! for some brief passion
Are centuries of high splendour laid in dust,
And that eternal honour which should live
Sun-like, above the rock of mortal fame,
Changed to a mockery and a by-word."

* Neem. ii. † Greg. in Ezech. Hom. xviii. ‡ Lucan, vii.
VOL. XI. E C

Men should derive a lesson here, like that which the great Gerhert pressed on Rainaud, the monk of Bobbio, and say with him: "Let this spectacle teach us the deceit and inconstancy of earthly things. *Futuram desolationem non tantum parietum, quantum animarum ingemisce, et de Domini misericordia noli desperare.*"

The storm of persecution, of which we survey the sad traces, appeared to have spent its fury on the region over which it passed, when again it burst out with violence, and carried desolation over lands which the tempest of heresy had spared. That all Christendom would be persecuted at the end of the eighteenth century, was predicted so early as in the year 1568, as may be witnessed in the dedicatory epistle to Henry II. prefixed to the prophecies of Michel Nostradamus. It is true no great depth of magic lore was necessary to foresee the hurricane. The sky of the moral world gave no unequivocal signs of what was coming on. The storm then returned with more violence, if possible, than before, and with results as deplorable. Monasteries which had escaped the former shock now fell before the stern and terrible blast, which overthrew and withered all things holy. The same phenomena returned; the same signal vengeance, too, fell upon the persecutors. The bands at Soissons, that partook of bread made from corn which had been stored up in the church of the abbey of St. John-des-Vignes, lately desecrated by them, were poisoned by particles of stained glass from the broken windows, which had been accidentally mixed up with it*. Then were the noble abbeys of France, Italy, and Germany, either demolished, or converted into magazines or prisons. How many noble ruins, memorials of the Gallic fury, have I met with in places that one might have thought too far sequestered for its force to reach, and now only known to guides and herdsmen, some on high mountains just bordering on steeps impassable, others concealed in forests, at a distance from all frequented roads! A modern author, describing his visit to the abbey of Eberbach, relates that this house was seized by the duke of Nassau, who violently ejected its inmates from their cells. "Four of the monks," he says, "are all that now remain alive, and the monastery has ever

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 22.

since been used partly as a government prison, and partly as a public asylum for lunatics." He found it full of unfortunate prisoners undergoing a sentence of three, four, or five years' imprisonment, for what we should call petty thefts, such as killing the duke's game, stealing his wood or his grass; for the poor people were sure to be imprisoned if found collecting a few dead leaves, or pulling up with their hands the rank wild grass which grows here and there all over the forest. Then it was that St. Gall terminated the long series of its various fortunes, which had been related from its origin by Ratpert*. Its last historian, Ildefons von Arx, speaks in the conclusion of his great work thus: "Justly may I shed a tear over the grave of this foundation, which for nearly twelve hundred years played so great a part in the east of Switzerland, and had been so useful and powerful in meeting every exigency of each particular time: which, when the night of heathenism prevailed, gave preachers of the faith and apostles, who spread around the light of the Gospel; which, when the land was wild for want of labourers, sent colonies of husbandmen, who cultivated it to the most secluded corner of the Alpine valleys; which, while facilities of intercourse were few, exercised a patriarchal hospitality, supporting a multitude of vassals, agriculturists, shepherds, and artisans; which, during difficult epochs, cultivated arts and sciences, and extended their discoveries and productions to all Europe; which, when the people required protection and government, was able with shield and spear to serve them, and to prove itself strong and beneficial, as well as under hood and banners; which, in the fifteenth century, when a reform of monasteries became necessary, was able to furnish so many skilful and saintly men, to supply the wants of other similar communities; which, in fine, when the storm of the eighteenth century burst, fell not as a decayed stem, but was found in a whole and sound condition, living, and active, and efficient for all good, of which its noble resistance was a proof. The contemporaries, who knew not personally the prince abbot Pancratius Vorster, and who were stunned by the revolutionary cries, may have judged of him disadvantageously;

* Ap. Goldart, *Her. Alleman.* tom. i.

but posterity will pronounce in his favour, and proclaim him to have been no ordinary man, who disdained all personal considerations, when he might have secured a provision for himself, and preferred, through a high sense of duty, to embrace poverty, want, and humiliation for the remainder of his days *."

In the year in which this work was first commenced these instances might have closed the series of the persecution of the monks. . But, alas ! the same tempest of destruction, which had then for a second time returned, has overthrown what had escaped before ; and now the monasteries of Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland can resist no longer. They too disappear in this unhappy age.

" When all that by a solemn majesty,
And an enduring being once rebuked
And put to shame the sordid thoughts of man,
Must be no more permitted to affront
Him and his littleness †."

Thus rapidly are these delicious abodes of holy peace disappearing from the world. In vain has nature, in her most awful convulsions, been enjoined to spare them ; as when at that Benedictine abbey of Catana, a river of burning lava, of the depth of twenty feet, stopped short and turned aside, as if by a miraculous suspension of the ordinary laws. The moral volcano has less discernment.

On the day when the Church celebrated the Assumption of our Lady in the year 1834, Don Pedro, following the steps of Henry VIII., suppressed all the monastic orders in Portugal by a decree, which might be cited as a specimen of incomparable duplicity. " These establishments," he said, " considered with respect to religion, were totally alienated from the primitive spirit of their institution, and almost exclusively governed by the love of the temporal and worldly interests which they professed to despise ; and, considered in a political point of view, they were like denationalized bodies, indifferent to the good or bad fortune of their fellow-citizens. To their influence over individuals and families, which was the more dangerous

* Gesch. des S. Gall. iii.

† Trench.

in proportion as it was secret, Portugal owes in a great decree the evils which it has just experienced. There are, indeed, in the individual members honourable, but rare, exceptions." Thus the same policy was pursued as in the former persecutions; only the deeds of God were more swift; for on the twenty-fourth of the following September the lips which had uttered this fiat were for ever closed.

The dissolution of the Spanish houses may be said to date from the massacre of the Jesuits and Franciscans in July at Madrid, which is described by an eye-witness. In the seminary, the fathers and scholars were taking their evening repast, when the murderers burst open the doors. The community repaired to the chapel, and awaited death on their knees; the scholars were spared, but the fathers and brothers were cruelly slain. Father Dominic Barrau of Cortes was cut in pieces before the children; brother Resedas fell under innumerable stabs. Father Sauri, professor of history, was more deliberately put to death; his teeth were broken with hammers, his limbs covered with wounds, and his skull was finally cloven. The whole college resounded with the clashing of swords, the report of guns, the groans of the dying, the horrible voices of the assassins, and the sorrowful moans of the collegians, who were deploring the fate of their masters; and some youths were wounded while embracing them. Father Caledonio Unanué, in the act of forgiving his enemies, was transfixed with a bayonet, the point of which came out at his breast. From the seminary the persecutors passed to the college, where they slew father John Ortegas, one of the most learned men in Spain, and professor of Arabic. Near him was found dead the laborious and edifying brother Ortolara. Father José Maria Elola had a more painful death; for after having his tonsure beaten in with blows, he remained in his agony till two in the morning, when he was found on his knees, with his forehead on the ground, a few minutes before he expired. Father Petro Demont was slain in the porter's hall. Father José Garnier, professor of humanities, who was said to have never lost his baptismal grace, was recognised flying in the street, struck on the head with a sword, and then on his hands, as he raised them to it in succession. Father Barba was killed at the street-door as he knelt before the assassins, and so covered

with wounds, that it was difficult to recognise his body. Father Martin Beugons was murdered while attempting to fly. Father José Sancho, nephew to the great father Sebastian Sancho, who died in consequence of his unjust imprisonment, was bound along with a servant, and taken into the street, where he received six deep stabs; one of which in the neck, nearly severing his head, caused him to fall and expire. Father José Fernandez Andaluzian, a most holy and learned man, received a sword in his stomach; then, with his hands on the wound, he was led towards the prison; till in the street of the Barrio Nuevo he was run through the body and shot, so that his brains fell out; some of which were caught up by a woman, fried and eaten, being offered to others as Jesuits' brains. In general the tonsures of the slain were cut off and paraded about in triumph. Father John Ureta, professor of metaphysics in Valencia, after being slain in the street, was immediately thus disfigured by the swords of his murderers. Brother Muñoz, being one of about fifty united in prayer in the chapel, when the murderers came to the door, was summoned by them by name to come forth, that his life might be spared, through consideration for his brother, who was favoured by the queen, while the rest were to be slain; but he replied that he preferred remaining to die with his brethren: in consequence of which resolution guards were placed at the door all night, and the lives of all of that number preserved; but father Baovan and brother Rudas, who led them to the chapel, were murdered. From this college the bands proceeded first to that of St. Thomas, where they slew nine of the friars, and destroyed all the books and crucifixes, and then to the convent of St. Francis, where they committed such crimes that, this eye-witness says, "the cloisters were deluged in blood, and for several days no one durst pass near it alone, the scene being too horrible to behold. In that convent forty-five fathers were slain, without reckoning those who afterwards died from their wounds, which, if enumerated, would raise the number to fifty-two. The murderers committed also unheard-of ahominations in the Church, destroyed the images, fired at the tabernacle, and reduced the whole house to desolation." Such was the first act in this tragedy; legal and military measures formed its conclusion.

On the twenty-second of March, in 1836, Mendizabel justified the abolition of the Spanish monasteries in words which the queen-regent pronounced at the opening of the Cortes at Madrid. She spoke thus:—"Religious institutions had formerly rendered great services to the Church and the state; but being no longer in accordance with the progress of civilization and the necessities of the age, the public voice called for their suppression, and it would have been unjust and improper to have resisted it." Nothing should be substituted for the persecutor's own words. The Madrid Gazette announces the suppression of the convents thus:—"Although by my royal decree of the twenty-fifth of July last, I applied what seemed to me a remedy to the serious evils arising to religion and to the state from the existence of so many monasteries and convents, in consequence of the absence of the individuals necessary for the observance of religious discipline, the representations which have been addressed to me from different parts of the kingdom have led me to consider a more extensive reform to be necessary. There is, in fact, a shocking disproportion between the number of the monasteries and convents and the resources of the nation. The greater part of these institutions are useless for the spiritual wants of the faithful, and it is necessary for the public weal that their property should be put in circulation, in order to augment the financial prosperity of the country, and create new sources of wealth. I therefore have deemed it expedient to decree, in the name of my august daughter Isabella, as follows: All monasteries and monastic orders are hereby suppressed; those of the regular canons of St. Benedict, of the congregations of Tarragona and Saragossa; those of St. Augustine and the Premontres, whatever be the number of the monks and the religious of which those institutions are composed. The following, if they are still open, are exempt from this measure:—The monasteries of the order of St. Benedict of Montserrat in Catalonia; St. John de la Pena; St. Benedict of Valladolid; St. Icrome; the Escorial and Guadalupe of St. Bernard de Poulet; Cartujos de Paular; St. Basile of Seville; but under the absolute interdiction to admit into monastic orders those who are now under novitiate. The revenue of those monasteries shall be appropriated to the public service, like those of the suppressed monas-

teries. The ministers shall immediately transmit all orders necessary for the execution of this decree, so that the property of the suppressed convents may be placed at the disposal of the state. The minister of finances will present for my approval the measures that he shall judge to be most suitable for ensuring the subsistence of the monks and religious; in the mean time, each individual shall receive five rials a day from the sinking-fund."

The Gazette also states, that "commissioners from the government went to all the convents of monks in the capital on the night of the seventeenth of January, and put seals upon the registers and documents of the communities. They signified to the brethren the suppression of their orders, and also enjoined them to leave their convents the day following, with the permission to carry off their effects, and to adopt the secular habit." The document which follows is so characteristic of the spirit in which these proceedings were conducted, that I cannot refrain from inserting it, notwithstanding its odious brutality. It appeared in the *Revista*, and began thus:—"Yesterday, at the moment of going to press, we were far from thinking of what we have to announce to-day—the mysterious end of the religious brethren of Madrid—an event that has had no tragical consequences. Religious establishments ought to end their days in the calm silence inspired by a good conscience; and accordingly the convents to-day appeared shut up, as if by enchantment. The servants of the Lord have passed to a better life, by returning to the society of the world. Their buildings and property have gravitated to their centre, viz. to the property of the nation. This will be an addition to the resources counted on for the payment of the home debt. With regard to the convents, it appears that they are doomed to change their forms at the same time that their inhabitants change their dress. A commission, composed of the civil governor, the corregidor of Madrid, and the patriotic deputy Ferrer, is instructed to change the convents into passages, bazaars, and houses; to give to them other destinations of public utility. Sufficient funds are allotted for this object, and people will soon be able to say, 'Here once stood a convent.' This is a radical reform; this is something like progress. We learn that

the ministers will shortly frame a bill upon the regular clergy." The writer then proceeds to anticipate its effects, in a strain too coarse and offensive to admit of his words being repeated here.

Then follows a letter from Madrid, dated the twentieth instant, saying, "The decree for the suppression of the monasteries, which has been published in the Gazette, has not produced the moral effect which was expected. Politicians have received it as an indication in part of the secret plans of Mendizabel, and as a natural consequence of the vote of confidence. The measure has elicited from the public but few marks of satisfaction, and the general feelings of the people, though not alarmingly, are evidently disturbed. The tranquillity of the city has not been for a moment interrupted, but the authorities have been upon the alert for the last three days; during which strong patrols have been frequently traversing the streets."

Four years afterwards, the public voice continuing to call for measures in accordance with "the progress of civilization," this unhappy princess abdicated and fled. But let us hear some details respecting the execution of her decree, which followed hard upon it; and the following account of the destruction of the convent of Aranzazu, as given in a letter from Villa Real, Guipuscoa, may suffice:—"The night of the seventeenth of August, the general-in-chief sent a party of troops to burn and raze this magnificent convent, situate a league and a half from Onate. This convent has been, from time immemorial, held in reverence as the sanctuary of saints, by the inhabitants of the four rebellious provinces. It contained one hundred Franciscan friars. They collected alms throughout the provinces of Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa. At their nod, contributions of wine, and meat, and bread, and every necessary, were poured into the cellars of these holy men. The convent was a complete palace; it contained every comfort that could make a retired life agreeable, and every enjoyment that man could desire, a magnificent library and an excellent orchestra. At the commencement of the rebellion its cellars furnished wine, and its stores bread and meat, to the rebels. This convent was situate in the centre of a rocky mountain; a torrent ran beneath its walls; an immense wood of mountain oak extended far on every side;

in fact, it presented the most picturesque appearance that the imagination could conceive ; so romantic, so isolated, separated as it were from the world, in the centre of the most beautiful and solitary mountains I ever beheld. The chapel of the convent was most magnificent ; the cells of the monks were elegant. At nine o'clock at night, the party destined to set fire to this massy edifice arrived. The friars were ordered out ; the guardian received an intimation to take away the chalices and other holy ornaments. The statue of the holy virgin was also carried forth on the shoulders of the monks. In less than a quarter of an hour the altars were broken in pieces, piles of wood were placed in different parts of the edifice, and in a moment the whole convent was in a blaze. Never did I see a more imposing spectacle ; the glare of the flames illuminated the mountains and woods for many leagues around ; the night was dark, and the procession of monks chanting a solemn hymn could be distinguished on the verge of a mountain close to the convent. The soldiers took possession of the wine, and sat round the immense bonfire, and drank to the health of the queen ; while nothing was to be heard around but now and then the report of a musket fired by the Basques in the mountains, to give intelligence to the Carlists of some extraordinary event having taken place. The monks were marched into Onate, carrying with them the holy virgin, and terror and dismay stamped on their countenances. General Rodil inflicted no other punishment than that of burning their convent, and sending them to different convents in distant provinces. Many stories, doubtless exaggerated, or perhaps altogether destitute of foundation, had been circulated, derogatory to the character of that institution. We advise such of our fellow-citizens as have an hour or two to spare, to visit the ruins of the convent. A more melancholy scene, or one better calculated to awaken the best feelings of our nature, we have never witnessed. What, but a few days ago, was one of the loveliest spots in the country, is now a scene of devastation and ruin. The convent occupied a most commanding situation ; the main building was large and elegant, and has been often commended for its architectural neatness. All that remains of it now are the naked walls, and these are in so unsafe

a condition as to require the immediate attention of the authorities."

It is consoling to find, that amidst these horrors there were some brave and religious hearts which evinced sympathy with the sufferers. In 1837, in a considerable town of Old Castile, an officer transformed his house to all intents and purposes into a convent, receiving into it some persecuted monks, and enabling them to discharge their usual service as if in their monastery. Italians in this respect, after the French revolution, had set a noble example. Count John Marius Andreani purchased a church and house of the monks of St. Barnabas, and assigned it to the monks of many suppressed houses, who continued to serve the church, living in a regular community; and in a similar manner the great Benedictine monastery near Cesena was preserved. But we must not dwell longer on these recent events, to which might be added those which are now passing in the east of Switzerland, where the magistrates of Argovia have inflicted on Muri and several other monasteries what can only be compared to the feat of the ignoble animal over the weakened lion. This passing allusion to them however was unavoidable, and it has conducted us by a gradual descent to the considerations which must terminate this book; for it leads us to observe that in general, persecution for justice, with oppression of the Church especially, still continues, as it must continue until the end of time. There is enough written upon this earth to stir a mutiny in the mildest thoughts, and arm the minds of infants to exclams. Yet every year adds to the sad legend; so true is the remark of Aristotle, "*Ὅμοια τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγρονόσι**." "Tempora mutata video," says St. Augustin, "Creator temporum non mutatur†." "Truth, which changes not, has still the same reception from the world; and the pride of those who hate God ascendeth ever‡." "In history," says Pazellius, "things are not changed; persons only are changed. The same nature of man remains, and so each affair returns. There are the same causes, the same occasions, the same errors§." "The present is not intelligible without the past," says Novalis||. This age, therefore, has where-

* De Rhet.

† In Ps. xliii.

‡ In Ps. lxxiii.

§ Christoph. Pazellius Orat. de Historia. || Schriften, ii. 321.

withal to instruct us; "ad quod," as Heinsius says, "nisi referantur vetera, non satis prosunt nova *."

We must not be careless and indifferent observers of the great events which are passing under our eyes, meriting the reproof which Tacitus ministers to his countrymen, saying, "Dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi †." For now the blood of martyrs flows in torrents as in early days. Who has not heard the traits of heroic fortitude in suffering for Jesus Christ, which are recounted in those admirable annals of the propagation of the faith among the heathen nations? Where is the Christian to whom the name of Cornay is not precious ‡? Let Ruinart revive to enlarge his immortal Dypsticks. The mother of Jaccard, on hearing of his martyrdom in Tong King, is overjoyed. When the news reached her, she uttered a cry of transport, and then said, "Blessed be God, my sweet son has conquered, and, in spite of my convictions that no sufferings could ever daunt him, I need fear for him no more." But without leaving Europe, the persecutions of the just are before our eyes: for now, as the learned Boyer observes in a late work, the Catholic Church has to be defended against the constitutional heresy which subjects religion to the magistrate, renewing the contests of the middle ages. Now again is the Church persecuted by emperors and kings "deliberately and safely," we are told by English writers, "as in Germany, or by democracies, energetically and more rapidly still," to use their words, "as in Spain," where heaven's stern justice lays chastising hand; which desolation these infatuated wanderers of the Anglican schism consider as the work of God, to establish what they term "a truly Catholic episcopacy in opposition to the Romish corruptions §." When one compares the letters of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of his contemporaries with the documents relative to the events at the present day in Prussia and in Poland, the heart sinks at the evidence of this protracted, monotonous, never-ending struggle. Here are again the same difficulties, discouragements, I had almost said impossibilities, encompassing the just; the same ability, cunning, strength, and success, attend-

* Orat. xvii.

† ii.

‡ Martyred in Tong King, 20th of Sept. 1837. *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, Mars, 1839.

§ I am unwilling to cite the author.

ing those who persecute them under the world's banners. St. Athanasius and St. Thomas return in these great and admirable figures of Clement Augustus Droste Vischering of Cologne, and of Martin de Dunin of Posen, these glorious confessors of the nineteenth century, canonized as it were in advance by the infallible praises of the successor of St. Peter. The bishop of Podlachia imprisoned by the emperor Nicholas; Hugues, bishop of Gibraltar, thrown into a felon's gaol by the authorities acting under the British government, for discharging the solemn and strict duty of his office; Ardriani, bishop of Pampeluna, with a crowd of Spanish and Portuguese prelates, banished and outlawed; the clergy of Toledo imprisoned and menaced for proclaiming that they will obey the Holy See rather than the political chief Becerra, nobly replying to the government, "The menaces of death will not intimidate us, for we know that at the present day death is martyrdom;" Michaelis, chaplain to the archbishop of Cologne, Binterim, the curate of Bilk, afflicted with a long and barbarous imprisonment: all persecuted for justice, for truth and honour—such are the examples of our age, verifying the words of Pope Innocent III. that "the sufferings of martyrs convert men to truth. Hoc est enim," he adds, "vetus artificium Jesu Christi, hoc miraculosum ingenium Salvatoris, ut cum in suis victus esse putatur, tunc vincat fortius in eisdem, et ea virtute qua ipse mortem moriendo destruxit, a superatis interdum famulis suis superatores eorum faciat superari*." The political chief raging against the chapter, an old man of Toledo writes to a relation at Madrid, saying, "I hope that your heart is comforted: if you cannot have consolation where you are, come here; come and visit the vicar in his prison, and you will find innocence, firmness, and all virtues capable of encouraging timid and tepid souls, so as to make them wish to share his prison. O how beautiful is innocence! how glorious it is to suffer for justice!" Forty-three priests of this illustrious church of Toledo are now in prison, the chapter of Saragossa sharing the same fate. And in men of station less conspicuous, how many dangers most vassally† encountered, and suffer-

* Epist. Iun. III. lib. xi. 26.

† In the Chronic. of St. Denis the expression is applied to

ings endured, for justice! Witness the curate of Requejo, Don Diego Estebanez, thrown into prison for having read from his pulpit the allocution of the Pope, and then condemned by the tribunal of Bagnéa to perpetual banishment and confiscation. Amidst boasts of toleration many indeed say, like some of old, "Si fuisset in diebus patrum nostrorum, non essemus socii eorum in sanguine prophetarum *." But with these scenes passing before our eyes, such self-congratulations can only be received for their just value. As Palinurus says to the delusive vision that bids him sleep,

"Mene salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
Ignorare jubes? mene huic confidere monstro †?"

No! the same lot is reserved for all superiority of merit. "Give me back Pythagoras," says Petrarch, "and I shall see you despisers of his genius. Let Plato return to Greece, let Homer and Aristotle live again, let Varro come back to Italy, let Livy rise again, let Cicero again flourish, not only will they find men slow to praise them, but biting and envenomed detractors, as each of them experienced in their days ‡." So we may add, give us back St. Ambrose, or St. Athanasius, and we shall find it needless to inquire how they will be regarded by the temporal power. What new thing can be expected? Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δι.' The ancient tyrants would soon be found alive, however their titles or their forms might be changed. But why do we speculate, when the world beholds how unceasingly the Catholic Church is persecuted in her members? As Dante saw the spirits passing to the cursed strand, obedient to the call of Charon, going over through the umbered wave, and ere they on the opposing bank were landed, on this side another throng still gathered; thus rise the Church's enemies, one still, another following, suffered by the living justice to execute the vengeance of his wrath. "No favour to the just in the fifth race of men," says Hesiod,

... μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα, καὶ ὕβριν
ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι §.

the king of France at the battle of Poitiers, "qui plus vassalment s'y porta que nul autre." Ad ann. 1356.

* Mait. xxiii. 30.

† V. 848.

‡ Fam. Epist. lib. i.

§ Op. et Dies.

Are these the works and days of the world now? O wretched race! "whence doth this wild excess of insolence lodge in you? Wherefore kick you against that will ne'er frustrate of its end, and which so oft hath laid on you enforcement of your pangs?" Reader, look well around thee, and such things thou shalt behold as would my speech discredit. What do not Catholic nations still endure for justice? O blest Ireland, how patiently dost thou abide thy ill-entreating! The best men who sought the deliverance of thy people and of the Church, which cannot minister to thy wants as she desires,—lovers of their country, who might say, with Cicero, that it was their fate that no one should be an enemy of the republic who did not declare war at the same time against them *, —steeped in contemptuous humiliations for attempting, and for in part achieving it; martyrs of the press and tribune succeeding those of the gaol and gibbet; heresy, unable to weary out its workmen at their black smithy, labouring by turns, while it cries aloud for help on all sides, launching out the bolts with all its might, as if to enjoy a sweet revenge: others constrained to seek repose in foreign lands, unable to resist its barbarity at home: elsewhere the cross, knocked down in sheer disdain of God, and venerable prelates sought out for massacre; force substituted for justice, setting at nought the high omnipotence; insult added to the breach of all law and honour: in another nation, religion attacked by foreign states, urged on by usurers, under pretence of an alliance; in another, where the people seem by nature formed for peace and gentleness, just and holy men, calumniated and persecuted by false brethren; a Milner treated as a visionary; a standard set up by members of clubs, having hosts of followers; such men, to use the comparison of Lucas, as enlisted under Falstaff's banner—namely, Wart, Mouldy, Feeble, and Shadow—singly contemptible, but acting with united cries upon a nation that has been ever distinguished by its rich men making martyrs, contributing to create against the holy and the just a querulous, suspicious, detracting, depreciating persecution, verifying the words of St. John Climachus, that "among the race of men some are the friends of God, nonnulli vero quamvis imbecilles tamen adversarii †." A glorious war, as

* Phil. ii.

† Scala Paradis.

Marsilius Ficinus observes, is said to have been waged formerly by giants against Jove, an ignominious one is here by pigmies *. Here even external foes, though bitter, are now dwarfish. "*Non eis remansit,*" as St. Augustin said, "*nisi sola infirmitas animositatis, quæ tanto est languidior, quanto se majores vires habere existimant †.*"

"The broad waters of bitterness," as an eloquent voice proclaims, "now no longer hold the ark; it is wafted into safety. But a small, pitiful, muddy stream of persecution penetrates into the comforts of the poorer classes. Heresy still persecutes in work-houses; it tortures in gaols; it gives to the poor widow, and says you shall not pray for your deceased husband; it turns away servants and discharges labourers, and sends adrift tenants to perish by famine on the wayside." The ministers, afraid lest any should be moved to follow the light of faith, and leave those whom they have steeped in error, go by thousands around the foss, in which they seek to retain all, aiming shafts at whatsoever spirit dares emerge. And thus it verifies the divine prediction, that the world should be divided by "the doctrine of the cross;" that each house should have in it believers and unbelievers; that a good war should be sent to break an evil peace; and it enables the children of beatitude to maintain that beautiful order of charity which consists in the subjection of affection to religion, preferring God to fathers, and mothers, and children, and to endure the austerity of the evangelic law through hope of the eternal promises. Not content with local and domestic persecution, it still hungers and thirsts after a national denouncement. It causes complaints to be eternally repeated in the parliament, in the journals, in the popular writings of the day, reviving those of the proconsul Pliny, denouncing to the state "the progress of the superstition." For, as St. Augustin says, "It is a kind of punishment and judgment when the sinner, and unbeliever, and enemy, sees the extension and propagation of the Church in this world, after so many persecutions in which he thought that it would have utterly perished. Then he is angry, *dentibus suis frendet et tabescet*. Who can deny that this is a grievous punishment ‡?" Yes, every where, on

* Mars. Fic. Epist.

† In Ps. xxxiii.

‡ In Ps. lxxviii.

the entering of its unblessed feet, heresy persecutes the faithful ; for every where it takes away or diminishes what gives joy to their youth and a foretaste of heaven to their aged, the external rites of religion, the processions, and the union of earth with heaven in the sanctifying solemnities of faith, all that its laws can still grapple with and suppress. For more than three hundred years it has triumphed ; and if it should endure twelve hundred years, like the sect of Mahomet, it will act like a blight upon the moral world still, engendering a joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue. In Switzerland, in Prussia, it is still working at its ancient work, and with the same thirst as of old, with fang impure to gore the bosom of the holy Church. Since Luther and Calvin's day it has not rested, nor ever shall, I ween, till time hath run his course. Whether it advances or recedes I know not. Like those tall water spectres which one sees by night in Alpine valleys, when every other object is concealed by the darkness, and no other sound is heard but the monotonous roar which issues from them, and one cannot determine whether they are nearer or further than at first, so does it appear. True, much of its material sustenance has been withdrawn. Here at least are no monasteries for sale now. Judging from its present violence, and remembering how "evils that take leave, on their departure most of all show evil," some are buoyed up with hope that it recedes ; while others, looking round on "the noisy inanity of the world, words with little meaning, actions with little worth, loving to reflect in silence on what passes,—the noble silent men, scattered here and there, not content like Xenocrates with one hour's silence in the day *," but rather aspiring at monastic habits, "each in his department silently thinking, silently working, whom no morning newspaper makes mention of †,"—these seem, as if thinking it stationary, to be content with repeating the words of Electra,

ὑβρίζει, νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχούσα τυγχάνεις·

placing all their hopes in the appeal which they have solemnly sent to that final tribunal, where, as Dante says, reply to innocence is made. In all other courts they

* Diog. Laert. iv.
VOL. XI.

† Carlyle.
F f

have seen their bill thrown out with laughter, and the prospect of redress made as remote as ever. They think it wise, therefore, to wait awhile in silence for the sentence of that above, which will award just judgment, fulfilling what is announced in the first as well as in the last page of the Book of God: for Genesis begins with "Elohim," a Hebrew word which stands not only for Creator but for Judge, and the last words of the Apocalypse are "Venio cito, Amen. Veni, Domine Jesu *." There seems the only remedy, while the world goes on, to good malignant, to bad men benign; for, that all the dangers may be seen ere we conclude, persecution now assumes a form more dangerous still than that inflicted by the violent, and is productive of effects more immediately ruinous than can result from all their fury; since, as the Venerable Bede remarks, "There are two kinds of persecution, one by open war, the other by men of a feigned fraudulent spirit of conciliation †."

"There is in the Psalm," says St. Augustin, "a voice of fellow-sufferers, and of martyrs in dangers in their passion, but still presuming in their head, *Vox contribulorum et periclitantium, sed de suo capite præsumptum*. Let us hear them, and speak with them with affection of heart, if not with similitude of suffering. Not that such persecutions assail us as assailed them, but perhaps that worse description of them arising from so many kinds of scandals; for our times abound far more in that woe pronounced by our Lord, 'Væ mundo ab scandalis:' and since iniquity abounds, the charity of many has grown cold. For neither did Lot in Sodom suffer any corporal persecution, nor was it said to him, that he should not live there. The wicked manners of the people were his persecution. Now indeed Christ is seated in heaven, glorified; the necks of kings are subjected to his yoke, and his sign is marked upon their foreheads, no one remaining who dares any longer to insult Him publicly: and yet amidst organs and symphonies, we still mourn; still the enemies of the martyrs, because they cannot with their cries and their voices, persecute them with their luxury. And would that we had

* Drexelius, *Tribunal Christi*, lib. ii. cap. 9.

† Hom. iv. in Luc. 52.

only the pagans to endure ; there would be some consolation in waiting for them, who are not yet signed with the cross of Christ, who when they were signed would cease to rage : but we see men bearing his sign on their foreheads, at the same time bearing on them the insolence of luxury, not exulting but insulting on the days of the solemnities of the martyrs. Amidst these we groan, and this is our persecution, if there be in us the charity which saith, *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor ? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror ?* Thus it is that Satan continues to rage, although fettered, and to instigate the impious who gnash their teeth against the dignity of the Church, and the peace of Christians ; and because they cannot rage with deeds of violence, *saltando, blasphemando, luxuriando*, they do not persecute the bodies, but they lacerate the souls of Christians *."

"A viro injusto erue me ; and," adds St. Augustin, "there are many of the unjust who do not seem to be cruel or rough, or to have the wish to persecute, yet they are persecutors ; for how can they injure no one who injure themselves ? Must they not injure you by injuring themselves ? You ask how do they injure me ? They do not touch my property or my life ? They injure you by their evil example, because they live with you, and tacitly invite you to follow them ; for when you see them prospering in their luxury, you are tempted to esteem their actions ; they injure you by corrupting what is in your heart : therefore every unjust man is necessarily dangerous, whether he be bland or whether he be ferocious ; and whoever is taken in his snares discovers it to his cost ; for thorns do not wound at their roots : hold them by the roots and you feel no pain ; but it is by the extremity that they wound : so it is with these men who please you, as if bland and amiable. This love of pleasure has its points, which will sooner or later lacerate you ; for they may be silent, they may hide their hatred, but they cannot love you ; and therefore pray to be delivered from them, as from the man malignant and unjust."

These are the persecutors most formidable now : these diffuse far and wide, what Dante found within the

* S. Aug. in Ps. lxi.

seventh circle,—dissimulation, flatteries, theft, falsehood, simony,—for these include all who seduce to lust, or set their honesty at pawn with such vile scum as serves the world under learned titles, infecting each profession. “Pray to be delivered from such men. It is not necessary to ask who they are; they are known. You must not ask, but pray*.”

“Our enemy was at one time a lion, when he raged openly; at another, a dragon, when he lay in wait secretly; but He to whom it is said, *Conculcabis leonem et draconem*, since we are His body and His members, as He trampled on the lion by the feet of our fathers, openly raging and dragging the martyrs to their passion, so will He trample on the dragon, lest he lie in wait and destroy us. Nevertheless, persecution, either from the lion or from the dragon, will never cease to the Church; and more is he to be feared when he deceives, than when he rages. *Persecutio tamen sive a leone sive a dracone nunquam cessat Ecclesiæ, et magis metuendus est cum fallit quam cum sævit†.*”

“*Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas.* This also is our voice,” continues St. Augustin, “for not as yet hath iniquity passed; still iniquity rages; and he only can persevere and be saved who has learned from Christ the patience of perseverance. You have passed, and lo your temptations have passed, and you depart to another life, to which the saints are departed, if you be holy. But think you, because you have passed hence, will iniquity have passed? Other unjust men will be born as other unjust men have died, and as there will be other just men born; for until the end of the world iniquity will oppress and justice suffer: *Usque in finem sæculi nec iniquitas deerit premens, nec justitia patiens‡.*”

The Psalmist says, “*Negavi consolari animam meam.* Whence this tedium? Perchance, because the hail has destroyed the vines, or because there is no oil this year, or the rain has spoiled the harvest? Not so. *Tedium detinuit me, a peccatoribus relinquentibus legem tuam§.*”

* S. August. in Ps. cxxxix.

† In Ps. lvi.

‡ In Ps. xxxix.

§ In Ps. lxxvi.

Reader, this leads at once unto the end, by a consideration of the reward promised to the children of this beatitude.

“Of all the eight ways of blessed life, indeed,” as St. Bernardine of Sienna says, “the end is the kingdom of heaven: for the meek will inherit the earth of the kingdom of heaven; mourners will be comforted but in the kingdom of heaven; those who thirst after justice will be filled but only there; the merciful will obtain mercy, but only when they enter the kingdom of heaven; the clean of heart will see God intuitively in the kingdom of heaven; the peacemakers shall be the children of God chiefly in the kingdom of heaven; but above all, for the poor in spirit, and for those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, the reward is immediately to be there: since to them is given on earth a part in heaven: for to persecution, as well as to poverty of spirit, is granted not only promissively, but possessively, the keys of the kingdom of heaven; for poverty has nothing in the world, and persecution can take the whole world from man: and as the provident Creator makes no creature without a place, therefore possessively he grants to them a heavenly seat. Besides, persecution for justice, like poverty of spirit, makes man impassible, agile, subtle, and rich; impassible in calamity, agile to follow Christ, subtle to penetrate heaven by the narrow way, and rich to purchase it*.”

Nevertheless, even those whose spirits were already thus in Heaven, in common with all that bore the sign of Christ, were while on earth men who walked with heads bowed down, waiting for those manifestations of the second advent, of which our Saviour says, “*His autem fieri incipientibus, respicite, et levate capita vestra †.*”

All the souls which Dante met in hell, expressed the greatest desire to be recalled to the remembrance of men, and even to draw the attention of those who had not known them. Amidst those revolutions of torment, in those burning sepulchres, under the horrible soil of the rain of fire, and on the waves of that eternal cold, the movements of vanity were required to enhance the

* Sermo xii. et v.

† Luc. xxi.

everlasting woe of sinners *; but the children of beatitude while living here below, had learned to despise the praises or the blame of men. They all knew that they were Christians for this end, as St. Augustin says, "*Ut præsentia superent et futura sperent †.*" "We are Christians," he says, "only on account of the future world ‡." Therefore, he adds, "let our motto be, *Sursum cor, sursum cogitationem, sursum amorem, sursum spem §.*" Yes, he says again, "We are as yet in the land, not of the living, but of the dying; our life is hope; *mutandum est cor, levandum est cor, non hic habitandum corde. Hæc mala regio est; sursum corda habemus ||.*"

"Let us enter, then, on the way of life," says Venerable Bede, in a passage which is read during the octave of All Saints, "let us return to the celestial city, in which we are inscribed and enrolled as citizens. Let us consider, as far as it is possible for us to consider, the great felicity of that city; for to express it no tongue suffices."

"Sometimes," says St. Augustin, "when a man travels far, he lives among better men than he would have lived with in his own country; but it is not so when our absence is protracted from that celestial Jerusalem. A man leaves his country, and, while he travels, it is well with him; in travelling, he makes faithful friends, whom he could not have found in his own country. At home he had enemies who drove him thence; and, as a stranger and pilgrim, he finds what he could not have had amongst his fellow-countrymen. Such is not that Jerusalem which is our country, where all are good ¶."

"Yet a little while," writes Fenelon to Madame de Gamaches from Cambrai, a few days after his sentence of banishment, "Yet a little while, and the deceitful dream of this life will be dissipated, and we shall all be reunited for ever in the kingdom of truth, where there will be no more error, nor division, nor scandal. There we shall breathe only the love of God; and His eternal peace will

* Artaud de Montor, Hist. de Dante.

† In Ps. xc.

‡ In Ps. lxi.

§ In Ps. xci.

|| In Ps. xl.

¶ In Ps. cxix.

be our peace. Meanwhile, let us suffer, let us keep silence, let us submit to be trampled under foot, carrying the opprobrium of Jesus Christ; too happy if our disgrace should contribute to His glory."

Such was the heart's inmost desire, such the unchanging voice of all just men, during the ages which I have attempted to review in this history; whether in honour or dishonour, in peace or in persecution. Heaven, from which came the Spirit of which they sung "in labore requies, in æstu temperies, in fletu solatium," was the end on which their eyes were ever fixed:

"E'en as the bird, who midst the leafy bower
Has in her nest sat darkling through the night,
With her sweet brood, impatient to descry
Their wished looks, and to bring home their food,
In the fond quest unconscious of her toil:
She, of the time prevenient, on the spray,
That overhangs their couch, with wakeful gaze
Expects the sun, nor ever, till the dawn,
Removeth from the east her eager ken*."

So stood the just, expecting Heaven; through the long night of ages, ever looking wistfully towards the region of that most blessed light where they would see, as St. Augustin says, "not more than they then believed," as one hears some ignorantly pray, but "what they had believed, without seeing it, for that is the reward of faith†; where all persecutions, all sorrows would finish, all tears be dried for ever."

CHAPTER XIII.

READER, the eleventh book is concluded, and with it our long journey through the ages of past time. The work then even in regard to its divisions will be left

* Dante, Par. xxiii.

† In Ps. lxxxiv. et cix.

imperfect; for this number signifies something unequal and incomplete; as it would require one more to be added, in order to make up that sacred number, as Albertus Magnus styles it*, which, as St. Augustin observes, implies perfection and totality. If we break off at the eleventh, to every skilful eye our structure will remain unfinished. However, so it must be. The ancients indeed shrunk from such an issue. To perish *ἀτελευτήτως ἐπὶ ἔργῳ* was the climax of misfortune in Homeric minds†. Their works are never designedly left unfinished; and the very number of their books signifies that they had succeeded in realizing their ideal; but in the Christian philosophy nothing while it remains on earth can be consummated. The brightest things must resemble the planet Mercury, that never appears quite full: the illumination can be never perfect; and we may remark too, that between Christian and heathen writers, the same cause leads to a singular difference of style in the composition as well as of arrangement in the division of their works; for that of the heathen authors is never to place the force at the end: their discourse ascends majestically, and then descends gradually to the end; whereas the Christians follow an ascending order to the last, and end abruptly with the part which is most exalted, as if unable to finish or realize their conception. So at the words "*quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum*," we have no alternative, but must end abruptly with the eleventh book; as if dazzled and unable to look any longer, on seeing the heaven wax more and more resplendent, and hearing a voice like that of Beatrice to Dante,

— "Behold the triumphal hosts
Of Christ, and all the harvest gather'd in
Made ripe by these revolving spheres ‡."

The twelfth can only be written "in the last sphere;" in that celestial city where every lofty aim will have completion, and by one of those who shall have passage to its clime to be an eye-witness to heaven's mysteries.

* In Luc. vi. tom. x.

† iv. 175.

‡ Par. xxiii.

For, as the wisest of the ancients said, τὸν δὲ ὑπερ-
ουράνιον τόπον οὐ τί τις ὑμνησέ πω τῶν τῆδε ποιητῆς, οὐ τί
ποθ' ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν.

There alone can be accomplished the mystic number which signifies universality and consummation. There alone can be seen the reality, that sum of blessedness, of which the fairest forms on earth are but a type and shadow. We should therefore separate, gentle reader, here, and close the volume; but, if you desire the epilogue of the rhetoricians, there is no reason why I should not comply with your wishes, after having thus explained the essential difference which will allow us only under certain conditions to pursue their art in this respect; nor need we object to the delay, "since," as Baltasar Gracian says, "The truths which most concern us are never but half-said." Yet, to look back on all that has been seen were difficult, though we might earnestly desire such a retrospect; and I begin as one by over-eagerness perplexed:

Ὁ φίλος, ἀργαλίον μὲν ὅς' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο
Πάντα λέγειν; πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὁδίται*.

As pilgrims, by mistake of some small path, having told many weary steps, at night when their hopes flatter them they are not far from some kind entertainment, find themselves lost in a wilderness, unable to retrace their way, so am I perplexed to find the issue, in one respect alone, like Dædalus, of whom the poet says:

" ——— vixque ipse reverti
Ad limen potuit: tanta est fallacia tecti †."

The conclusion of a work which has so long transported us to beauteous and majestic scenes, giving us an occupation like that of the ancient mystagogues, which, according to the remark of Cicero, ought to consist in showing "not where things are, but where they were," creates a weighty and a serious brow, which I would put off, as contrary to the joyful tenour of its way from the commencement.

* Hom. Hymn. v. 202.

† Met. viii. 168.

" Now time his dusky pennons o'er the scene
 Closes in stedfast darkness, and the past
 Fades from our charmed sight. My task is done :
 Thy lore is learned. Faith's wonders are thine own,
 With all the fear and all the hope they bring.
 My spells are past ; the present now recurs."

The thought of having done, of having had life prolonged to finish any work by the permission and grace of Him in whom all things live, and of one's view now hovering the brink of dread infinitude, is solemn. 'Tis like the sound of the sea or the murmur of the grove, after the departure of a friend, whose presence on the previous day had tuned it to unmixed gladness ; it is like the sorrow of one who casts a last lingering look at the beautiful cities of Italy, or at the snow-capped mountains of the bright warm south, which he is leaving never to see them more ; or like recalling to mind the journeys that were made along the beautiful shores of Alpine lakes, when one was a boy ; the thousand innocent transports to which the heart yielded with such ardour, as one walked through vineyards, rode through valleys, clomb rocky mountains, and swam in the placid or the rushing waters of those delicious climes ; or 'tis like the hour

" When the last sunshine of expiring day
 In summer's twilight weeps itself away ;"

when nature of itself disposes the mind to reflections deeper than the tongue can utter. "The evening," says Richard of St. Victor, "is a time of sadness ; the morning is a time of joy. Wherefore doth every heart grieve, unless because no heart here hath perpetual day, because no heart can always have present to it the light of heaven ? For the sun rises, and sets, and returns to its place, because the intelligence of truth one time is given, at another withdrawn, and again a second time restored. How should it be strange then if every heart should grieve so long as it endures in this manner the necessary darkness of these alternate vicissitudes ? In heaven there is day without night : in hell night without day ; on earth neither night without day, nor day without night ; that is to say, neither sorrow without hope, nor

joy without fear. Of necessity, therefore, must every heart grieve and lament until it perfectly escapes its darkness, reaches the soil of glory, and its throne becomes as the day of heaven*." The Church herself teaches us thus to moralise on the time; for, at the close of her brightest festival, she invites us to repeat those moving words, "*Mane nobiscum, Domine, quoniam advesperascit;*" and St. Augustin says that we read of no evening of the sabbath day, because in heaven our rest will have no end†. Therefore, in her evening hymn of "*Lucis Creator optime,*" the Church addresses prayer to God with weeping, "*Audi preces cum fletibus,*" and seems engrossed with a contemplation of the mournful and dangerous side of the human existence, adding,

" *Ne mens gravata crimine
Vitæ sit exul munere;
Dum nil perenne cogitat,
Seseque culpis illigat.*"

We may be sad too, because we are descending from the mountain of the beatitudes, that mount which pilgrims from the Holy Land tell us is so isolated, as if to signify the divine perfection of what is found there alone; we are leaving those with whom we have long conversed, namely, the departed great and holy, who like shadows have come before us and are now departed with the revered bard who sung them; "*Oculus meus, memoria mea,*" says St. Bernard, "*et cogitare de sanctis quodammodo eos videre est.*" Besides, imperceptibly men imbibe the spirit of those with whom they live; and we have lived with the generations of the ages of faith, of which the spirit, as we have seen, was an affectionate and tender spirit, such as the apostle recommends: "Do not have a mind without affection," says St. Augustin, that great monitor, whose thoughts were their thoughts, "for they are reprehended who are without affection‡." What affection did the men of these ages manifest for our divine Lord, for his blessed Mother, for His sacred humanity, and even for places sanctified by His presence; so that it was a custom in Italy to have family groups repre-

* *De Statu Interioris Hominis*, l. i. 27.

† *In Ps. xcii.*

‡ *In Ps. lv.*

sented amidst the different stages of the Passion in Jerusalem; as in the picture of Cosmo de Medicis, where all the members of his house are thus painted adoring in the Holy Sepulchre, the Garden of Olives, and on Calvary. Geoffrey Fulcher, a knight-templar, writes to king Louis VII. of France, and concludes thus: "Do not suppose that I have neglected your commission; for you told me that I should salute for you the holy places, and in visiting them make a memento of you in each. Mindful of your charge, I send you a ring which I carried with me to all the holy places, and with which I touched each of them in memory of you. For the reverence of which, I pray that you will keep and guard the ring *."

It was the spirit of these ages to make men practically know, that no one could come, unless by love and tenderness, to Him who, for that reason, as St. Augustin says, had ascended above cherubim, and was exalted above the plenitude of science. What affection for all! Tear for tear, and loving kiss for kiss, they were ready to tender on each other's lips! If there had been no other argument to prove the existence of God, they held that He must necessarily exist, if it were only to comprehend the graces which they traced in beings around them. No father or mother, they supposed, could love their children as their childhood and their youth deserved, though they would pay them all the sum of debts that they should pay, for this was countless and infinite. That infantine beauty, that young grace of adolescence, that hoary wisdom of old men in the sun, required an audience more divine than theirs. God must exist, they argued, not alone to bestow such graces, but to love them. Hence the pensive air which characterised their affection. "In whom I placed my melancholy," says an old poet of Jumièges in a dramatic legend, meaning whom I loved. Friendship, love, and piety were all treated with mystery, as if to avoid profanation. As Novalis says, "Shame would not permit mention of them, except at rare intervals. They were understood in silence, as things far too tender to be a theme of talk †."

The fifteenth century, antichivalrous and irreligious,

* Epist. Ludov. vii. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi.

† Schriften, ii.

witnessed a great contrast to this view of the relations of human life : but such was the spirit of ages in which faith predominated. In palaces, as in cottages, the affectionate disposition reigned. What a beautiful instance is that related by Joinville, when describing a certain royal banquet, he says that "the queen Blanche, hearing that a young German, of eighteen years of age, who served, was the son of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, kissed his forehead through devotion, because she had heard that his mother had often kissed it." What love did Charlemagne evince for his sister Ghisla, abbess of our Lady at Soissons ! She had refused to marry the son of the eastern emperor, and the son of Diderick, king of the Lombards. In 804, Ghisla falling sick in the abbey of Chelles, Charlemagne instantly flew to her from Soissons, where he had just arrived with the Pope Leo III., and did not return to him at St. Medard, "till he had enjoyed some conversation with Ghisla," say the annals of Metz ; the cares of politics never being able to extinguish his domestic affections. On the occasion of the emperor Charles IV. visiting Charles V. king of France at Paris, the Chronicles of St. Denis relate an affecting instance of the same kind. On the Sunday, say they, the Duchesse de Bourbon was presented to him in the hotel of St. Pol, "and when they came near each other, the emperor began to weep, and the duchess also, so that it was a piteous thing to behold ; and the cause was, his remembering that the sister of the said duchess had been his wife, and also that the said duchess had been the companion, and brought up with the duchess of Normandy, the emperor's sister and the king's mother. In that place they could not converse together, but the emperor prayed that after dinner he might see her and talk with her more secretly ; and so it was done*." Such was their affectionate spirit ; and, therefore, having long lived and conversed with persons of this tone, one learns to love and to weep like them, to be sensitive and sad at the thought of seeing them no more on earth ; for how should we not love them ? as the old orator exclaims : *τίς γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαστο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀπειρῆς ;* Certainly to leave them thus is a thing that may well teach the eye to flow. Alas ! if these were living now,

* Ad an. 1378.

how different would be our lot and that of our children ? Had their time been more, much evil that afflicts us still had never chanced. But they are gone ! they whose glories far and wide resounded once, are now scarce with whispers named ; and what remains to us of all this mightiness but the high lesson :

“ Follow, where all is fled ! Rome’s azure sky,
Flowers, ruins, statues, music, words, are weak,
The brightness they transfused with fitting words to speak.”

Moreover, these concluding labours have brought us back to that solemn epoch of the declining year, when, in our new life, juvenile in years, we commenced them, of which festival the poet Pindemonte so mournfully sings :

“ Quando il cader delle autumnali foglie
Ci avisa ogni anno, che non meno spesse
Le umane vite cadono, e ci manda
Sugli estinti a versar lagrime pie.”

Again surround us, at the funereal song of “ *Regem cui omnia vivunt*,” those hosts of dead, nobler than the ghosts *Æneas* saw,

“ *Magnanimum heroum, pueri, innuptæque puellæ*,”

thick as the fallen leaves that strew the ground of forests in the first cold of autumn.

Reader, you may remember, that it was on the day when souls are kindled, as the flame of embers is enlivened at the breathing of the wind, on the day of All Saints, and as the sun, then entering the eighth degree of *Scorpio*, was sinking to its bed, that we began this journey back in contemplation through past ages. After leaving the Church, my insatiate eyes had travelled to the spangled firmament, where the stars, in magnitude and lustre, shining forth with more than wonted glory, seemed to declare the beatitude of those whose justice was an effluence of Him whose seat is thus inlaid with thick-studded gems. These planets, to which the sun appears so much more glorious than he does from our earth, globes in which his heat is so intense, which move with such amazing velocity that the Greeks even gave

them the name of divine messengers; some so near the sun as to be seldom visible, being lost in the effulgence of its rays; others more remote, alternately rising in the morning and in the evening; but, whether bringing light or love, constantly turned towards the source of their illumination,—these stupendous bodies, moving thus in such obedience, and contributing to the happiness of beings so remote as men, seemed to invite the mind to continue meditating on those living splendours, that see face to face Him who is the light of all intelligence, that glow with flames of love proportionate to their distance from its everlasting fountain, and that, by its sweet influence, are to their ever-constant swiftness winged, impelled by Him that moves the sun in heaven and all the stars. In Ages of Faith men witnessed order in the Church resembling such as in these orbs is seen, only that, as Dante says, “in the sensible world, there was this difference, that each showed more divinity as each was wider from the centre.” That evening, when I first conceived this work, the moon, then in the twenty-sixth degree of Taurus, was nearly half-illuminated, as her sixteenth day would indicate, and in the sky all night. I remember it well; for she did me good service in the gloom of the deep wood through which I had to journey. When the monks left the choir, the sun had already touched the forest on the plain beneath, and ere I left the cloister, through its broad arches, could be traced some pale splendours. Capella and Cassiopeia lay over the north-east; the Pleiads nearer to the orient, Aquila towards the south by west, and Cygnus nearly over head. Lyra was fainter in the west; while the great Bear paced his circle in the north-west. When I rode forth, some I had watched were sunk, and others risen in their stead. The Twins and Orion towards the north-east with undulating glance played along the horizon, the Belt just rising below Aldebaran: the Bear was mounting to the Pole. Before I pulled the rein, it was midnight, and still increase of beauty. Orion fired the south-east nearly half-way from the earth to the summit of heaven’s concave: the Pleiads moved aloft verging to the south. Sirius and Pegasus had caught my gaze. Associated in memory with that eve of All Saints, and vigil of the dead, when the first thought of this long history darted across my mind, I can thus easily recall their places as

they wheeled through the serene air from fall of night till the twelfth hour, star by side of star; and now, after ten solar circles, the inclination of the axle on which our world spins ever night and day recalls the same great solemnities of the Church; and again she chants her own beatitude, as truly blessed mother. But while our earth has been performing these revolutions through the unimaginable space, while spirits beyond number have been added to that crowd above, and we still journeying through the obscure atmosphere of mortal creatures have been enjoying deeper and deeper insight into the manners and events of past ages, accumulating proofs with every change of position produced by the silent flight of time, the circuit of our vision widening from day to day, causing increase of beauty and of wonder since those first vespers, when we heard sung, "O quam gloriosum est regnum in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti!" while heaven as well as earth has thus participated in the advance of years, it seems as if for us time had been stationary; the one Allhallows lasting without interruption while we were composing the books that were to illustrate it, as when the brief space of another holy season sufficed for that mysterious voyage to the three worlds, which the monarch of celestial poesy describes. Traces of the same impression are, in fact, discernible in many works. The whole of the Republic of Plato, ten books in length, is put into the mouth of Socrates, and supposed to be repeated at a sitting, as the narrative of a conversation held the preceding day. The reason is obvious. It is that when high and glorious themes have seized the faculties with sensations of delight, time passes, and a man perceives it not. This find I true by proof, for years have rolled on unobserved as the advance of death, who, though we do not hear him tread, yet every minute is approaching. Why do I talk of death? you ask, as if a mist weighed down my eyes already! Oh! if we had profited by our late quest—so as to know clearly and to feel:

. ἄτε οἱ πατέρων
 ὄρθαι φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
 ἔχραον*.

• Pind. Olymp. vii.

what the just minds of our good fathers prophesied ; though we indeed saw death, in a long robe of darkness, preparing to seal them up to this earth for ever, we should say, with the Catholic poet who beholds Clariana die :

“ ————— ‘Twere no death
If we could lose our sins as we do breath.”

But by me, alas ! as Eckerhard of St. Gall said with less truth, one thing is to be dreaded, after relating the glorious actions of the wise and holy, “ lest God should say to me, a sinner, *Quare tu enarras justitias meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum* * ? ”

Alas, and woe is me ! I may exclaim, borrowing the words of Guy de Roye in his *Doctrinal de Sapience*, “ I am like the mill which grinds the corn, and when it has ground it, remains empty, retaining for itself nothing from what it delivers to the people ; certes thus it is with me, poor sinner. I have ground the corn and delivered it to you, with which you readers and hearers will be fed. Alas ! I retain no profit for myself : for I confess humbly before God and all the saints, that I am not what I admonish you to be. The words I transcribe ; but the effects in me, are not like the words. I do not the good that I speak of ; too far is it otherwise : but God knows that I am sorry for it, and desire that my deeds might be accordant with my words. But though I am not good, I wish that all others may be good. I should wish to be the worst of all that are on earth ; not that I should become worse, for I have no need to lose aught, but that all others may be better than myself ; and this is what consoles me, that I love in others the good which I love for their sakes ; for that is to begin well. O ! ye who read, or hear read from this book, do not disdain it because it has been written by me ; for a bad man often treads out good wine, though he does not make it. An ill-looking mason constructs a beautiful edifice, though he does not make the stones. Certes, thus it is with me. I have done nothing, but draw the words from books and join them together. There is nothing here of mine own but the pains which I had in turning over the leaves of many books.” If more be required to explain why

* Eckerhard, Prolog. in Vit. B. Notkeri Balbuli.

one without authority should have offered his services for such a work, requiring a mind so different from his own, I would urge, as in the beginning, the precedent, so far as wanting an express authority only, of others who have done so without blame. Not to recur to such ancient examples as those of a John Francis Picus of Mirandula*, and a Sir Thomas More, the duc du Maine, in recent times, has left a book of meditations on the divine doctrine of the beatitudes, as if he had assisted at those conferences by night in the Vatican, which Saxius has recorded under the title of *Sancti-Caroli Noctes Vaticanæ*; whereas I have only shown its historical results, of which men, really good and wise, are often ignorant. The Vicomte de Marcellus, in his travels in Sicily, relates, that one day, as he walked in the public square of Castel-Vetrano, unable to divine the meaning of the words *Palmosa Civitas*, which he had read over the western gate, he accosted a company of five priests whom he met there, and asked them to explain the enigma. On their replying that they knew not, a certain young man joined the group timidly, as if waiting to be interrogated, and when the question was addressed to him, gave a satisfactory answer, citing a verse of the *Æneid* to substantiate it, while the others appeared to evince indifference if not contempt for that kind of erudition. On the viscount expressing surprise at his learning, the youth replied, "I am only a poor scholar; the priests whom you interrogated know more than I do, but they do not often read the poets or attend to studies such as these †." The same would be my reply, if any one should express pleasure at having derived information from these pages, which he had not found in graver and more solid books.

It chanceth often, when one sort of good hath satiated, and of another still the appetite remains, that what is best is laid aside, and that which has more novelty accepted. Those who, like myself, only pass the time carelessly, as if reposing on the pale cowslip beds, can pick up flowers which their masters cannot stop to gather.

In the middle ages we find Dante, so far like myself, in being prone to anger, and, through compassion, fainting for the victims of our common nature's sin, writing

* He wrote de Morte Christi.

† Vingt Jours en Sicile.

on the credo, on the seven sacraments, on the decalogue, on the penitential Psalms; and, in the nineteenth century, captains of artillery, in the camp, during short intervals of repose in Africa, treating on the accordance of reason with faith *, while other soldiers of the same army, with an enthusiasm that reminds one of Petrarch's praises, expressed in his letter to Boccaccio, are reading the commentary of St. Augustin on the Psalms. It is true, as the Pythagorean poet says :

*Μία δ' οὐκ ἅπαντας ἄμμι θρέψει
Μελέτα*

but, as Manzoni replied lately to one who complained that he had not published any literary work for a long time, " We must all come to theology at last †."

Tacitus relates, that the Roman soldiers, when encamped on the moor in which Varro and his legions perished, were moved to a sad remembrance of them. In silence, through smouldering fires, they passed amidst their tents that night, sleepless rather than watching. The fearful stillness terrified the general, for he seemed to see and to hear Quinctilius Varro, covered with blood, emerging from the marsh, as if calling him, and yet repelling his outstretched hand ‡. For those who survey the scenes, full of grace, and state, and woe, in which the noble army of the saints and heroes of the Ages of Faith fulfilled its destiny, other images are reserved, and far different recollections. For them too 'tis possible to call the departed back, but it is a divine sound, which issues from such ground; it is a voice, as poets say,

" Which, should our holy churchmen use, might
Without addition of more exorcism,
Disenchant marshes, tie up nightly spirits
Which fright the solitary groves."——

" *Hæc sunt enim vestigia, quæ nobis sancti quique revertentes in patriam reliquerunt, ut illorum semitis inhærentes sequeremur et gaudia §.*"

* De l'Intelligence et de la Foi, par M. Guillemon, Capt. du Génie.

† Fred. von Raumer's Italy.

‡ Lib. i.

§ Bede.

Shortly before his death, travelling to Nuceria, the holy friar, Thomasuccius, on the feast of All Saints, entered a half-ruined and deserted church, where he began to meditate on the majestic splendour and variety of that festival in heaven. Then falling into an ecstasy, he was led by an angel in spirit to behold the glory of the blessed, when he saw in mystic ecstasy all the distinct orders of the happy. In this vision of imaginary glory he remained immovable from rising till the setting sun, and, on coming to himself, related to his disciples what he had seen. Next day he came to Nuceria, and shortly after died, having predicted his own death*. Our vision ceases where the saint's began; but the end for others may be similar to his; for, from a commemoration of great and holy deeds, they may attain to a participation in their recompense, if they attend to what St. Chrysostom lays down, that "they who admire and praise the merits of the saints should imitate their manners. For either they ought to imitate if they praise, or they ought not to praise if they will not imitate; for we ourselves can be what they were; and we can do what they did. Now, in all these, the virtue was the same, the combat dissimilar, the glory equal. Therefore," adds the holy doctor, "you are a false soldier if you think to conquer without fighting, to triumph without a contest. Consider the covenant and conditions of your engagement, the warfare for which you are enrolled†."

Thus, reader, have we surveyed the ages which were influenced by the belief and manners of that class of men of whom the ancient writers say, that they were in faith and action Catholic, "fide et actu Catholicus‡,"—ages whose philosophy was sung by Dante, whose practices of life by Shakspeare, whose faith produced "a world all sincere, a believing world." Thus have we seen the prayer of our Lord reduced to action, which, as Vincent of Beauvais observes in his mirror of history, has regard in its seven petitions to the seven beatitudes, the eighth not being distinguished from them, as it is but the complement of the others; for, he observes, when we say, "hallowed be thy name," our prayer is, "grant us the

* Wadding. Annal. Minorum, tom. ix.

† In Octave of All Saints.

‡ Vit. Godehardi, Episc. Hildensheim. ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. tom. i.

spirit of wisdom, by which we may ever firmly adhere to thee, and so attain to perfect peace." In the words, "may thy kingdom come," we petition for the spirit of understanding, by which we may be cleansed so as to see God, and thereby reign; in those, "thy will be done," for the spirit of counsel, to enable us to fulfil his will, which must be done by mercy, according to the verse, "*Misericordiam volo*;" in those, "grant us this day our daily bread," our prayer is for the spirit of fortitude, lest we should faint on the way, that we may ever more and more thirst after justice: when we say, "forgive us our trespasses," we implore God to grant us the spirit of knowledge, by which we may mourn for our sins, that they may be in consequence remitted: when we add, "lead us not into temptation," we beg that He will grant the spirit of piety, by which we may be made meek, so as never to be irritated, and thus escape the wiles of the old adversary; and, in the last petition, to "deliver us from evil," we implore Him to render us poor in spirit with fear and humility, that we may be freed from sin; for it is the fear of the Lord which expels it from the heart*.

"Behold then," adds the holy Bernardine, "in how many different ways did saintly men, directed by our Saviour, act a meritorious life! behold what was the diversity of actions, of which the end was heaven†!" To sum them up here in conclusion would be needless. The history of them might be termed the history of love. As St. Augustin says, "Be not anxious to think of the multitude of the branches,—hold the root, and the whole tree will be in you: hold charity, than which nothing more eminent can be found in the Sacred Scripture,—that more excellent way of all who appertain to the kingdom of heaven, that which is above the heavens, above all books, for which all these generations militated: hold the sacraments of the Catholic Church, which were the hidden root of their actions, and then from the hidden root their good works will revive in you, manifest to all; as from the bottom of the cross, which is fixed in the earth, the whole visible cross rises and is seen‡."

* Vincent, *Bel. Spec. Historiale*, lib. vii. c. 16.

† Serm. xii.

‡ In Ps. cii. ciii.

"The habits of the cardinal virtues," says Albert the Great, and in the book which treats of them by St. Martin, bishop of Braga, we see proof, "principally dispose to action, and those of the gifts to contemplation; but the habits of beatitude disposed to the perfection of both*."

Such, in fine, were Catholic manners during the long course of ages which deservedly are distinguished by their quality of faith, that mysterious grace, without which no one will ever be able to understand their history, much less to imitate their manners; that divine gift of which the ancient sages seem to have had some conception, when, as St. Clement of Alexandria remarks, "It was an axiom according to Plato, that the mother of virtues is faith†."

How many just men and prophets of the ancient world wished to see the things which these ages saw, and did not see them, and to hear the things which they heard, and did not hear them? For then was prophecy fulfilled. The Lord reigned. He who stood before the judge, He who was buffeted, He who was scourged, He who was spit upon, He who was crowned with thorns, He who was smitten on the face, He who was suspended on the tree, He who was mocked while hanging from it, He who died upon the cross, He who was wounded with the spear, He who was buried, He who rose again. Dominus regnavit. The earth exulted, and many isles were glad; for the servants of God were every where, announcing to the nations His glory; His, not as now their own glory; bringing to the Lord the glory due to His name; not to the name of men, not to the name of their age, not to their name, but to His name bringing glory.

When the words were finished, which first unfolded this way of beatific life, we read that the people wondered; when the manifestation of their power over the human heart in their consequences, as they appear in history is observed, what remains but to exclaim with Thomas, as if we beheld the feet and hands and side of Christ, "Tu es Deus meus, alleluja!"

* Alb. Mag. Compend. Theolog. Veritatis, v. 55.

† Stromat. ii. 5.

The ages of which we have reviewed the manners, constituted what St. Augustin terms, "the generation of generations;" which expression he explains thus: "one generation goes, and another comes; for the generations of men on earth are like the leaves on the olive, or the laurel, or other evergreen tree, which is always clothed with them, while some leaves are dying, and others springing into life; so the earth is always full of men though passing thus quickly; but collecting, as we have done, from so many generations all the holy offspring, and thence making one generation, we form that generation of generations to which is promised a share in the eternity of God *."

Reader, in regard to the manner of treating history adopted in this work, there has been need of your co-operation; therefore I will say with Dante,

"Lo! I have set before thee; for thyself feed now †."

Feed, and reserve for the hungry some morsels from so high a table; for those you leave behind have vulgar, often bestial food; and you who know how wretchedly they fare, and who have tasted the sweets of this banquet, composed of such varied and such precious things, should learn pity ‡; but with discretion give what is provided. He will have partaken of it to little purpose, who will have only looked at the preceding examples and sentences in themselves, without attending to the great facts deducible from them; for each contained indirectly a refutation of some error maintained in the most popular histories, in which, as Thierry says, "are united the greatest chronological truth, and the greatest imaginable historical falsehood." By them, if duly weighed, many arguments are void which oft might have perplexed thee. Each contained often an apology for whole generations of men; for each was indicative of the state of society existing at the time, and of the public mind of which it was but the expression. They were all to be examined with a view to something further than the specific purpose avowedly professed in the passage itself. For external facts have

* In Ps. ci.

† Parad. x.

‡ Convito l.

importance chiefly from their harmony with interior facts, with the opinions of men ; and institutions placed between actions and opinions, are, as it were, the permanent forms of the thought of a people." Aristotle objected to history that it is confined to particulars ; and on that account, as far as regards instruction, he gave the preference to poetry, saying ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει : but in the preceding books history has been presented in a Catholic character, affording lessons to philosophers of a universal interest, and supplying undesigned testimony to general truths of the highest importance to mankind.

Nevertheless, I think it has not been my failing to make the truth of history subordinate to its moral use, just as a history is sometimes written for the purpose of inculcating certain political or sectarian tenets, by men who spread a shadow of their own likeness over it, whose minds seem like a many-sided mirror,

" Which can distort to many a shape of error
This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love."

The facts here adduced have not been modelled by the nature of the man who selected them ; for then they would have yielded pain. They have not been modified by his own manner of thinking, which is of little worth ; the ages he has described are not the multiplex image of any mortal's dream, for the whole is given as it was found in ancient monuments, to which every one may refer to verify them. Nor does the impression of greatness, which every picture of the Ages of Faith must leave on the mind, arise from their being past and distant ages. They required not time to magnify them ; for the present enables us to see the past in its reality, and every act of faith now exhibiting before our eyes obtains from just men the admiration which they bestow on these records of the deeds of our fathers. As the chief object was to defend the middle ages from the charges of those who attack religion through them, the main substance was necessarily what Brunetto Latini in his *Trésor* terms "*les anchienneteis des vieilles hytoires*:" yet I have occasionally alluded to the present times ; for as an ancient writer observes, " in all writings, if there be

regard to truth and utility, *æque valet novitas et antiquitas* *."

And this was necessary too, because as an acute French writer says, "there is more imagination in all modern parties than is generally supposed. They are all greedy of establishing themselves in the past. They remake and arrange history to the profit of their passions; by a phantasy imposing on some illustrious dead the part of representing their opinions †." Sophistry costs them nothing. Indeed we have Shakspeare's word for it that "He who stands upon a slippery place, makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up." As Benvenuto di S. Giorgio says in the beginning of his history of the Marquises of Monferrato, "*Remoto Deo, cœlestique doctrina, erroribus plena sunt omnia* ‡."

What can be expected from their inductions, when their citations are absolute contradictions to their theories, as when one illustrious writer, while attempting to prove that what he termed philosophy and not Christianity conduced to abolish slavery, cites in proof, the testament of Lemmo di Balduccio, made in Florence in 1389, which begins with declaring that he grants emancipation for the love of God §?

If it be said that I have ascribed to the influence of faith more than duly belonged to it, I would reply, in the words of a modern and most gentle author, who has more than once furnished me with weapons against the citadel which he is still attempting to defend, "the question, whether the Church meant such a particular beauty, comes to much the same thing, as the question whether the sun means that his light should enter into such or such a flower."

And here, in answer to an objection advanced against me by this accomplished scholar, who would convict me of being a false spy, I must declare that in no part of these books have I set up noblest stories, culled out of fifteen centuries, as the whole picture of what the Ages of Faith actually were. Their faults and crimes were

* Adelbold, Episc. Traject. Prolog. in Vit. S. Henrici Imp.

† Timon.

‡ Ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxiii.

§ Per l'amore di Dio assolve e libero la chiara di... Hist. des Sciences Math. en Italie, ii. 512.

not concealed or palliated; though their devotion led me to the conclusion at which a French historian* has arrived, that much will be forgiven them on account of their having loved much; a conviction which will not be treated with disdain by those who remember that, as St. Augustin says, "a latrone Apostoli victi sunt, qui tunc credidit quando illi defecerunt †." If their iniquities were great, great also was their reparation, great their struggle to correct themselves, great their repentance. Yet with all their defects, such is the contrast they present to heathen times, that the anticipations of the first apologists seem so far verified as to force the ridicule of Gibbon to recoil upon himself; for what Lactantius expected, and almost ventured to promise, did arrive. Ages of comparative innocence and felicity did return; the worship of the true God did moderate war, and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent. Impure desires, angry and selfish passions were restrained by the knowledge of the Gospel: and in many places the magistrates might sheath the sword of justice among a people actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.

It is curious to remark how writers of the middle ages, when describing the manners of society around them, reply to charges of the same kind. "But perhaps some one will say," observes an old historian of Pavia, who wrote in 1330, "that it seems from this, that all are perfect, and that there are no reprobate amongst them? To him I answer, that it is for me to recite not the sins of my people, but their good works; for if perchance they should sin, it is to be hoped and piously believed, that all stains are washed away in true penance and confession, making satisfaction and restitution; and giving alms, and so making all things clean to them." Indeed he had previously ascribed the preservation of Pavia during six hundred years, without having king or prince, to the wonderful alms of the citizens. "All the women," saith he, " (to say nothing of all that the men give,) daily distribute alms at their doors, of their substance, or of the produce of their manual labour. Besides this, they give part of every provision they dress,

* Ozanam.

† In Ps. lxxviii.

to poor shamefaced neighbours, and this before they partake of it themselves. The brethren of the Holy Spirit, who possess only daily alms, give food every day, and distribute through the city bread, wine, corn, fresh and salt, raw and cooked meat; having divided the city into districts, to which one member especially destined brings round the provisions, the bread in sacks, the wine in wood, and the rest in covered metal vessels. At All Souls there is no one in the city who does not give provisions to the poor. But who can know, unless God alone, and those who receive them, how much alms are given in secret by nobles and plebeians, who do not wish to sound a trumpet before them, when they give? For there are many who give much secretly to the poor, or for the poor to the brethren of the Holy Spirit, or to those of the common house, or to the priests of the churches, that the givers may not be known by men but by God. Besides all this, on certain festivals of the Church there are banquets given to the poor, who receive invitations, and they have meat and vegetables. The bishop, besides the casualties and the fines on clergymen, all which he distributes, gives great alms daily of his revenues by ancient institutions. Similarly, the canons of the cathedral and the monks of the different convents, and the priests of the churches. The laity, moreover, always on the seventh day, and anniversary of their dead, give abundant alms. This liberality of alms seems to be inherited by the citizens from ancient times, and from our blessed father Syrus, who, by his intercession with God, always obtains this abundant supply for the poor of Christ, by especial favour; for some relate, though it is not expressed in Scripture, that he was the lad of whom St. Andrew spoke to our Lord, saying, *Est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes*. Thus deservedly is our city called *Papia*, as if to express *pauperibus pia*. But, he adds, resuming his argument, "If there should be any reprobate amongst them, yet our citizens are not on that account to be less praised, but rather so much the more are they to be admired, because by these they are proved as gold in the fire. Was not this city like the morning star in the midst of the clouds after it had past from the Egypt of dark Gentilism, to the light of faith by mutation, not of place but of manners." Finally, he says, "If any refuse to believe our report, objecting to our

youth, having only completed our thirty-fourth year, and demanding, have you seen such things? let them interrogate our fathers, and examine our chronicles, and they will find that I have advanced nothing but what is true *."

Neither is it just to say that I have culled these stories as if rare passages from ancient books; for whoever has pursued studies of this kind must be aware that the difficulty arises from the infinite multiplicity rather than from the deficiency of such evidence. If we continued still to look upon that light which ancient histories supply, the same phenomena, still new miracles of grace, would be descried, toiling us with the change and defying any attempt to record all: so that, in fact, the passages which have been here adduced are not gleanings from a gathered harvest but specimens of an inexhaustible supply, that may be said to be still standing untouched by the sickle. My gentle adversary objects also to my witnesses, for the reason that "they speak the sentiments of the best and worthiest from the Apostles to the sixteenth century:" but with what consistency can he say this? That thrustured home should make him a Catholic. Who thus styles them the best and worthiest? It is one who by his profession is bound to consider them as idolaters and enemies of truth; for indubitably they clung to what makes men such, if his theology be admitted. If I have shown then that they were among the best and worthiest, this work is not a monument of delusion or of sophistry; nor is it a small point gained to have obliged those who are ranged with him to admit that they were good, however inconsistent may be such a concession from their lips. By that admission they are in fact left without defence, inasmuch that we may repeat Spenser's words in reference to them, and say,

" Now need we no longer labour spend,
Our foes have slaine themselves, with whom we should
contend."

Again, to reply to another charge too hastily advanced, I have not, when alluding to what is erroneous and perverse in modern times, absurdly indulged in the stale

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, c. 15. 22. ap. Muratori, tom. xi.

complaints of Cicero, saying, "*Videte nunc, quam versa et mutata in pejorem partem sint omnia.*" Nor have I so much as breathed the poet's wish, which in me would be insane ;

— " *Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset !*"

I know indeed, to use the words of a Roman who loved his country, that "things more agreeable to many might have been said ; but necessity, even if my disposition did not move me, required that I should speak not what is agreeable, but the truth : *vellem equidem vobis placere ; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis **." Had I really incurred this charge, the wisdom of the ages of faith would have condemned me ; for its sentence was, "*Ne dicas, quid putas causæ est quod priora tempora meliora fuere quam nunc sunt ? Stulta enim est hujuscemodi interrogatio.*" In every age our poor humanity has always traces of the time when it was good in its Creator's sight ; and I know not how any one can love those whom he has never seen but in books, if he has contracted no friendship, no intimate affection for those whom he has seen in life ; who, however personally strangers to him, yet have countenances familiar to his eyes ; for those with whom he grew up and played, and studied, and bore the heat and burden of the day. I love the plants of the Eternal Gardener, each human flower as I pass it by, the youth, though wild and untaught of this generation, the further from discipline, alas ! the more like myself. I love the gentleness of the rough-clad and laborious sons of the people, whose errors are not the result of their own seeking, or of their preference of any human consideration to truth ; hearts they have that might bear any fruits, hearts not unworthy of beatitude. Truly we need no master of the new learning's remonstrances to teach us to love them as the good dealt by the Eternal Hand that tends them all. But to wish that besides wearing nature's faces, which gladden us with their beauty, they were children of the Catholic Church, instead of being left as sheep without a pastor, or after hearing the far-rago of confusions repeated by preachers of the thousand

* Liv. iii. 69.

and one false notions of religion, driven to abandon all belief, and to repeat the reckless boast that "this world is but a show or appearance, no real thing, a shadow hung out on the bosom of the void infinite, nothing more:" to wish that the influence arising from familiarity with these smiling countenances and engaging manners among the youth of humble and laborious life that throng the public ways, might be exerted in strengthening by the force of example, and not, as at present, in weakening by the same power the salutary bonds of that noble Catholic morality which regulates and sanctifies without destroying nature; and to show that the supernatural light of faith, which would have made them blessed, was more diffused in former times than in our own, argues no want of love for them, no folly, no insensibility. To mourn even over the condition of the majority of the people now is to utter but a just complaint, as even their most admired guides acknowledge. "Yes, we may truly deplore it," says one of them most conversant with the past and present: "the condition of the majority is not easy, neither happy nor secure. It is impossible to regard, without a profound compassion, so many human beings carrying from the cradle to the grave such a heavy burthen, and carrying it without intermission; and, in this continual preoccupation of their material existence, hardly being able to expend a thought on their moral life *."

As for the guides from whom our tears have had their spring, who still are followed nominally by the erring crowd, they are deciphered. Yes: be you who you may that seek to throw a mysterious halo of glory and sanctity round them, to hide the lashes which justice has inflicted, οὐδέτις ἂν σὺ διαβόργης ψευδόμενος, if one may use the old orator's harsh expression, justifiable perhaps when one thinks of the attempt, 'tis even so: they are marked, and with hands that smote unmercifully, for what they were, dress and parade them as you will now. "De quibus," to use Cotta's words, rather than terms that might offend the ear, if you desire to conceal their brand, "habeo ipse, quid sentiam; non habeo autem, quid tibi assentiar†." And as for the fictitious nobles, their earliest and latest friends, who think not that

* Guizot.

† De Nat. Deor. iii.

ancient, as Frederic of Suabia said, but that new riches, however scraped, constitute nobility, and who deem god-like those who help them to varnish over the past, and keep the alms of good men to the poor, in order that they may build palaces and arrange banquets with the spoils, thinking, like the robber who invites guests and covers the table with an altar-cloth bearing still the Church's mark, that no one will recognise the stuff, what are these but the converse of all we have learned to praise and reverence? Our scorn must be as transcendent as our love: for them and their magnificence only laughter, or unappeasable silent reprobation and abomination. Adore the present age, like those who say they bow down to the majesty of those who form it,—I cannot.

— “ Let them pass,
 I cried; the world and its mysterious doom
 Is not so much more glorious than it was,
 That I desire to worship those who drew
 New figures on its false and fragile glass,
 As the old faded—phantoms ever new
 Rise on the bubble, paint them as you may;
 We have but thrown, as some before us threw,
 Our shadows on it as it past away.
 But mark how chained to the triumphal cross
 Were the great figures of an elder day *.”

In respect to essential things more is true than I have now admitted; for it might be shown that the present is for the Church a happy and a glorious age, and even of the peculiar forms of the ancient grace not wholly destitute; for, not again to cite the common people who are always amiable, some retired Catholics among the great are found living, as in the eleventh century, like some noble trees that are left standing here and there in a forest that has been cut down, as if to be a memorial of what once existed, and to edify those who pass. The Spirit of Christ reigns ever. There are besides other lands where still faith is found fruitful. Beneath Ausonian skies all these deeds of love are practised, and Catholic manners as of old: and this I know to be so true, from what I saw and heard, that in this distance of years, long separated, I feel that there is danger of mistaking Italy for heaven. But, to use the phrase of elder

* Shelley.

men, since I have run so long a career in this matter, methinks, before I give my pen a full stop, it will not be lost time to inquire why England, the mother of excellent minds, should continue so hard a step-mother to Catholics; who, certainly, in all the virtues that she holds most precious, ought to pass all others, since all can only proceed from the living spring at which they drink, to ask why, in all their laws and writings against true faith, this people is so fell; and why the symphony of Paradise should here keep silence while pervading with such sounds of rapt devotion so many other states. Sweet religion, that hath anciently had here kings, senators, great captains, learned teachers of every valued science, great philosophers and orators, and piercing wits, not only to favour Catholics, but to be Catholics,—that religion, embraced so long, and still pervading countries from which we are obliged to borrow arts and letters, should continue to find in our time a hard welcome in England, I think the very elements lament it, and therefore are our seasons, for which no meek procession fasting supplicates, colder than they were of yore. Is there no touch of mercy in the breasts of those who lead her? What! still angry; still devoted to the thoughts of self; still sitting apart and separate, while the faithful sons of holy Church faint and are oppressed! Then art thou punished, in that this thy pride lives yet unquenched.

Μὴ ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐτός γε λάβοι χόλος, ὃν οὐ φυλάσσεις·

Boast not of your ancestors: heroes and sainted dames are not amongst them.

... γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
πέτραι δ' ἡλίβατοι· ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής*.

Were it lawful always to indulge the first emotions of one's breast, there are some whose words might be contemptuous. Unlike the Roman, who, knowing the noble minds that ruled the assembly, interrupted the discussion by inviting his hearers to the capitol to return thanks to heaven, these might rather be tempted to wave all arguments and dismiss their countrymen, bidding them hasten to the broker's, if such should be his title, who

* Il. xvi. 34.

can tell them the value of their bonds or shares, the only speculations in which they feel any interest. Of what avail, they might demand, to show you what we prize? Here is nothing that acts of parliament can either make or abolish. Men take pleasure in things in which they excel. Come then, lords and gentlemen, lead on to the exchange, where, like Bacchus, you may drive a bargain with the dead, and evince that courage which did not shrink from the attempt to barter with a spirit disembodied. But charity restrains such lofty scorn, and tries to efface the fierceness even of a just and chivalrous indignation: therefore, recurring to the holy fathers, they will say, "Recognise the master, recognise his property." "Sometimes," continues St. Augustin, "we approach these men and say, 'Let us seek the truth, let us find the truth;' but they reply, 'Keep what you possess, and we will also keep our own. Thank God, my sheep are His sheep.' 'No, they are neither my sheep nor your sheep, but the sheep of Him who has purchased them; of Him who has marked them with His seal. Why should I have mine, and you yours? If Christ be there, let my sheep go their way, for they are not mine; if Christ be here, let yours come, for they are not yours.' 'No,' says the heretic, 'it is not my property.' 'What do I hear? Let us see if it be not your property; let us see if you have not appropriated it to yourself. I work in the name of Jesus Christ, and you in the name of Donatus: you say the Christ is here, and I say He is every where. The Saviour has said, He that gathereth not with me scattereth. You divide unity, you seek a private possession; why should it bear the name of Jesus Christ? Why have you put the titles of Christ upon your own possession, in order to defend them in the same manner as some people write on their house the name of a powerful man, to terrify by this false title those who might wish to invade it. O unhappy house! Let Him possess you whose name you bear: decorated with the titles of Jesus Christ, no longer belong to Donatus *.'" You say that all might have been well formerly, but that as the state has changed things, it is necessary to yield compliance and follow those who are now the leaders. I cannot consent to you in this; and Socrates has left a sentence

* St. August. Enarrat. ii. Ps. xxi.

which is sufficient to justify me,—παλαιοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκότες καὶ γεγραφότες ἐξελέγουσίν με, ἵάν σοι χαριζόμενος συγχωρῶ *.

Socrates says elsewhere that, next to speaking against God, there is nothing we should beware of with more vigilance than uttering a word against those who resemble Him; that is, he adds, "against divine men†:" that while the base part of men have no regard to their fame after death, the good are careful to leave an honest name to their posterity; and he regards this as an evidence that there is a knowledge with the dead of what passes here‡. The Greek poet, too, says that those who protest against the just should fear for themselves, since as the ancients thought,

Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
Τῷδ' ἔμμεν, ὅτ' φρένας
Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς αἶαν §.

To judge only from these instincts of the ancient wisdom, what an overwhelming disgrace would be reserved for us on the day when we shall meet, I do not say the learned sages and heroic martyrs, but any generous believers from those multitudes of men, women, and children, that belonged to the generations of the ages of faith, if we were to consent to their revilers now! How could we expect them to acknowledge us? How should we sustain a look from any of the great triumphal hosts which in the last day we shall see? If we have any shame, and Plato says that fathers should leave that sentiment to their children rather than mountains of gold||, we shall find no room for deliberation, whatever may be the immediate consequences; for, as Joinville said to the French renegade who feared the reproaches of others if he should return to truth, "the reproach will be much greater in the day of judgment." "Propter hos igitur," to use the words of St. Augustin, "in unitate permanendum, propter hos quicquid hæreticorum mali est devitandum ¶."

We read of two poor villages of the principality of Neuchatel, Landeron and Cressier, that when the Calvinist ministers came to tempt their faith, the inhabitants

* Phædrus.

† Plat. Minos.

‡ Plat. Epist. ii.

§ Antigone.

|| Leg. lib. v.

¶ In Ps. ci.

showed them the cemetery where their fathers slept, and declared that in the day of judgment they wished to rise with them, confessing the same Gospel *. It is not to one cemetery that we should point; but we refer you to the soil which covers the generations of sixteen centuries, from which the holy and the just, clothed even to their fleshly weeds with the symbols of Catholicism, will rise to life and glory. But waving this consideration, which Sir Thomas More urged upon his judges after they had condemned him, "What ground of probability is there," says Pelisson, "that our Lord should have hidden Himself from that line of excellent men called saints, who had no other wisdom but what was of heaven; whose grandeur consisted in humility, whose days were spent in meditating on His word day and night, and in following not only His precepts but His counsels, by a life like that of angels, sometimes crowned by a death still more precious in His eyes? And if He concealed himself from these holy men, what likelihood that he should have discovered himself to Luther; a man very angry, very far removed, to say no more, from their moderation, from their mortification, from their charity, from their humility †?"

According to our adversary's view of history, prophecy has failed; for in that case the nations became not God's people; His empire had bounds and an end; His Spirit descended not on all men; and in all places an impure sacrifice was offered in His name †. You say, for even to this outrage on historic truth our ears are destined, that the system which the law of England recognises as the state religion is in reality Catholic as of yore; that it has been persecuted by kings and parliaments, and that it would not otherwise have departed, as in some points you admit it has, from the discipline and doctrine of antiquity; that it is your mother, to be excused and to be forgiven. To all this, one conversant with the dead, and often *optimi consultores mortui*, will deem silence, and a look like that of Ajax, when Ulysses makes his submission to him, the best answer. "*Possunt hæc credere,*" as St. Leo says, "*qui possunt talia patienter audire.*" An historical study of the events which led to the

* Audin, *Hist. de Calvin*, i.

† *Réflexions sur les Différends de la Religion*, sect. iv. † *Id.* x.

catastrophe is a bad preparation for assent to the propositions which are generally advanced by those who do not view things from the centre of Catholic unity. Papi-
nian, the Prætorian prefect under Caracalla, being ordered to compose an apology for the murder of Geta, replied, "that it was easier to commit than to justify a parricide;" and thus sacrificed life to honour. Such, if pressed to speak, should be our answer, when we are asked to acquiesce in the excuses of those who severed England from her true mother, and from her long line of saintly ancestors. No; you have condemned rashly; you must purify yourself from this crime: and as Socrates said, there is to those who sin an ancient purification, *καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος*, which Homer did not know, but Stesichorus was aware of it; for he knew the cause of his own blindness, and immediately said, *οὐκ ἔστ' ἔνυμος λόγος οὗτος*, and finished the whole *παλινωδία* when he recovered his sight. Like Socrates, then, be still wiser than Stesichorus, and before you suffer the punishment, sing your palinode *γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τότε ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐγκεκαλυμμένος*: for there was always shame to those who rose against a holy cause.

"Not lazy to change what has been ill begun," was the motto of an emperor*, from which you might learn wisdom. "Ne pudeat te," says our great Anselm, "rumperere vincula vanitatis; quia non dedecus, sed honor est transire in libertatem veritatis†." Be not as Jephthah, once, bent blindly to execute a rash resolve, whom better it had suited to exclaim, "I have done ill," than, to redeem his pledge, by doing worse‡; and, after all, you may have nothing personal to retract; for it is no more possible to be born a chooser, protesting against the Holy See, than to be born a Berkleian, denying the existence of matter. Talk not of mutual concessions and of compromising. There is nothing left for you but to sing the palinode of Stesichorus, *οὐκ ἔστ' ἔνυμος λόγος οὗτος* §. The whole sum is easily made out: you admit that there is but one Church; who could number the testimonies to it diffused through the world? as St. Augustine asks, who could number them? You admit that the Church of the middle ages must have been the Church of Christ;

* Savedra, Christian Prince, ii. 201.

† S. Anselm. Ep. ii. 19.

‡ Dante, Par. v.

§ Plat. Phædrus.

for if not, where did it exist? Therefore, since truth and justice require that a man should not be allowed the advantage of two contradictory hypotheses, you, who know what schism is, cannot be at a loss to discover in what category to place those who remain under any denomination, separate from her pale. You have only to take the trouble of drawing the conclusion which leaves you no choice. Cease, then, from arguing, as if time could give sanction to errors, and of apostates constitute a church; cease from repeating the old misrepresentations; cease from calumniating the Holy Bride, who with the lance and nails was won; sing, O from your heart's core, sing the palinode.

If, as the ancients said, Homer was blinded for having vilified Helen, what judgment must not he expect, who persists in vilifying that truth which, as St. Augustin says, is fairer than the type of all corporeal beauty? Alas! for errors of little moment, if connected with things temporal, men are ready, sooner or later, to make amends. Buttmann, having discovered the futility of an insinuation which he had repeated against Sappho, said, among the last words he ever wrote, "to expunge this charge against Sappho, and to atone for my real sin against her, I hold to be one of my most sacred duties before I depart out of the circle of mankind; and thus accordingly I fulfil it." If this be admirable, what ought not to be the retractions of a learned and philosophic man, cui vivere est cogitare, when he is led to see the injustice of the accusations brought against the saints and the Holy Church of God? But the deed of separation has been accomplished. What is there accomplished to a wise man that cannot be restored? Hear what the Roman philosopher says, when he retracted his opinions in full senate: "*Cujusvis hominis est errare; nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare: posteriores enim cogitationes, ut aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Quodsi est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque fallaci; redemus in viam. Optimus est portus pœnitenti, mutatio consilii.**" When will such noble words be heard in senates now, where systems are propped up with votes long after detection has laid bare their vanity; where majorities are sought for annual extension of the plant,

* Phil. xii. 7.

that, from the vine it once was, has long since grown an unsightly bramble? As when a fog disperseth gradually, our vision traces what the mist involves condensed in air; so, by degrees, some gentle spirits, some noble intelligences, are now learning to see things as they are in truth, and to deplore the madness of their fathers. Their complaints sound like those of Io when she first sees Prometheus:

"Whither, ah whither am I borne!
Say on what shore my wretched footsteps stray!
Distraction drives my hurried steps a length
Of weary wanderings; my ungovern'd tongue
Utters tumultuous ravings that roll high *."

Æschylus, describing elsewhere the happy event of her re-assuming her former shape, seems to pourtray the soul converted from these wide-wasting errors:

———— "All her toils at last,
Her wanderings wild, her tortures past,
What gentle hand?—Eternal Lord, 'twas thine;
Thy gentle hand, thy power divine
Soothed, softly soothed her frantic fear,
And from her glowing cheek wiped sorrow's modest tear †."

To account for the contrasts between the spirit and manners of the Ages of Faith and later times, some have had recourse to notions borrowed from the fatalists, and to the phraseology of that school which ascribes all such changes to an inexorable destiny, ordaining an oscillation and progress of civilization which, it maintains, always follows an invariable and irresistible law. Learned and unlearned, they sit and trace analogies between periods and manners, and all this unconsciously, as St. Augustin says, "to defend sin." They refer the whole character of the Ages of Faith to the necessary consequences of such external causes as were connected with the stage in which society then existed. The men whom we have seen, say they, were the creatures of the time; the time called them forth; the time did every thing. Had they been born in the middle ages, they too would have been devout believers, for they are always most sure where there is the greatest uncertainty; but, since they are living in the nineteenth century, it is the world's tendency which

* Æsch. Prom. Vinc.

† Suppl.

doubts and sins when they doubt and sin, and they must be what they are, urging the excuse of Pothinus :

— “ *Rapimur, quo cuncta feruntur.* ”

The change is an inevitable thing. We must not blame men for it ; we must lament their fate. Thus Neander speaks of the folly of Julian, because the spirit of the age demanded the progress of Christianity ; so they would persuade us that the glorious and happy visions which supported our forefathers were in the progress of society, like those amusements of childhood, or those sweeter illusions of youth which man leaves behind him in the voyage of life, and which appear to him no longer worthy of the gravity of mature age. “ It was a truth, and is none ; The old was true, and it no longer is.” This is what they call “ not being unjust to the old.” But on this point they lack wisdom ; for, as Beatrice tells Dante, force and will are blended in such wise as not to make the offence excusable *. The fact of the continued existence of the Catholic Church is sufficient to dissolve all this texture in a moment. The works, and thoughts, and words of men change and perish ; every human institution dies ; but the Church never. The religions of the ancient world have vanished, the whole ancient world has vanished ; the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, have passed away ; but, notwithstanding boasts, like what St. Augustin terms “ the foolish lie of the pagans, who determined that the Christian religion was to last only three hundred and sixty-five years † ; ” notwithstanding pompous monuments like those intended to eternalize the triumph of the early persecutors, on which we read, “ *Nomine Christianorum deletio—superstitione Christiana ubique deleta, et cultu Deorum propagato,* ” there are Catholics in England still. If, then, the present race of her sons err, let them seek in themselves the cause, and find it there ; or, as Dante says again, “ The cause is not corrupted nature in yourselves, but ill-conducting, that hath turned the world to evil ‡.” “ For,” says St. Augustin, “ the participation in Divine wisdom is denied not to nature but to negligence ; from men it is required as being made in the

* Dante, *Par.* iv. † *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 54. ‡ *Purg.* xvi.

Divine image *;” and they have power to reach it, else desire were given to no end. Let them return to the psalm, as St. Augustin says, and “cry, Ego peccavi tibi; I, not fortune, not the stars, not fate, not society following its law, and obliging me; but I, with free will, have sinned †.” Nor is the difficulty of a return to the thoughts of the Ages of Faith so great, as those who resist them represent. Cæsar’s counsellors, indeed, put in this caveat, “Non ad vetera instituta revocans quæ jam pridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt;” but they could not reckon upon the assistance which is ever at our disposal; so that we have more ground for hope than ever had Parmenides ‡. Therefore to the question: What remedy for these evils, O London? We might reply in the poet’s words:

ἔχεις ὁδὸν τιν’, ὦ πόλις,
δίκαιον ᾧ.

Let her be restored to communion with the Church, and therein she may rest even as the wild beast in his lair; let her embrace truth, and then she will live truly and obtain true riches; so may her lineage find at last repose, *καὶ οὕτω λήγοι ὡτίνας, πρὶν δ’ οὐ* ||. No means of recovery (search all methods out as strictly as she may), save to stoop, obeying in humility as low, as high she disobeying thought to soar. Free of her own arbitrement, like each one of her sons, to choose, discreet, judicious; after so much experience and discovery, to distrust her sense, were henceforth worse than error; all are invested then with crown and sceptre, sovereign over themselves ¶. But as they who have been confined in a dark prison, amidst the imprecations and groans and tears of the miserable, when invited, after many years, to come forth, find no pleasure in freedom, or sweetness in the view of trees and mountains, so these think nothing better than the atmosphere of that Babylon where they had been long in captivity, and from which the transit is to the peace and light of Jerusalem. To such the old poet seems to speak in these words:

“You sad-faced men, people and senators,
By uproar sever’d, like a flight of fowl

* In Ps. ciii.

† In Ps. cxl.

‡ S. Clem. Alex. says he wrote a poem on hope, Strom. v. 2.
Eurip. Heraclid. 896. || Plat. de Repub. vi. ¶ Purg. xxvii.

Scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gusts,
 O let me teach you how to knit again
 This shatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf,
 These broken limbs again into one body,
 Lest England be a bane to her own heart;
 And she, whom mighty kingdoms courtsy to,
 Like a forlorn and desperate cast-away,
 Do shameful execution on herself."

How is it possible, you ask, that we should ever be brought to agree? But Plato even could answer that question. How? *εἰ Θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὧ φίλοι, δοίη τις συμφωνίαν ὡς νῦν γε σχεδὸν ἀπάρδομεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων* *.

"Indeed, Socrates," says Glaucon, "you seem to me to say all this with great fervour; but yet I am of opinion, that the majority of those who hear you, will oppose themselves to what you advance, with still greater fervour, and that you will not persuade them, beginning from Thrasymachus." "Do not calumniate Thrasymachus," replies Socrates, "who has lately become my friend, and who was not before my enemy, (through all the discussions of the Republic, he had most violently opposed Socrates in every thing,) for we shall not abandon our attempt until we succeed in persuading him, and not him only but the others, or at least until we shall have gained some step in advance preparatory to that future life." "Indeed," says Glaucon, "men in general, have seldom heard any discussion sufficiently noble and free, undertaken for the sake of truth; but they have only been presented with elegant harangues and controversies, never tending to any other end, excepting to glory and disputation, delivered by men, saluting one another from a distance, whether in the tribunals or in private society. Still I fear the multitude will never consent to you." "O my good friend," replies Socrates, "do not altogether calumniate the multitude, nor suppose that they will differ so much from you, if you will but show them the real lovers of wisdom, whom you call philosophers, and define, as you have lately done, their nature and occupation; that they may not suppose that you speak of the men whom they have in view; for otherwise how can you expect that they should have an opinion

* De Legibus, ii.

like yours? Do you think that any one, being himself void of envy, and mild, would be irritated against another, who never gave cause for irritation, or would envy one who never envied? I will precede you in making answer that such a perverse nature is only found in some few individuals, and not in the multitude. Therefore agree with me in saying, that the real cause why the love of wisdom is reproached by the multitude, arises from the men who introduce themselves from without, pretending without any qualification to be philosophers, blaming and reproaching, and nourishing hatred, and always making discourses about men and not things, *καὶ ἀεὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιουμένους*, which least of all agrees with philosophy.

Socrates, indeed, had more hope to convince his friends of truth, than his judges to whom he spoke*; and with us there is great need of lively hope, to wing the prayers sent up to God, and put power into them to bend his will; but why should we not hope? for if the truth and beauty of the Catholic religion be shown, where is the wonder and impossibility that other men, since all can have assistance now, should come to be of the same opinion with ourselves respecting the excellence of this philosophy†? “That others should recover by charity,” as St. Augustin says, “the wings which they had lost by cupidity? for all have need of wings to gain the liberty of the children of God‡.”

There is indeed scope for calumny in all things, as Socrates adds, *διαβολὴ δ' ἐν πᾶσι πολλή*§. And it is easy, as St. Augustin says, “to seem to answer for whoever chooses not to be silent: for what is more loquacious than vanity? which, however, can never become truth, though it may be able to cry louder than truth. But let them consider all things diligently, and if, judging impartially, they find such things which can be rather disputed than disproved, let them cease trifling, and choose rather to be corrected by the prudent, than to be praised by the foolish: for if they regard not the liberty of speaking truth, but the licence of evil speech, let them fear to incur the sentence of Cicero, *O miserum cui peccare licebat* ||!”

* Phædo, 63.

§ Id.

† De Repub. vi.

|| De Civ. Dei, v. 26.

‡ In Ps. cxxxviii.

The race indeed is not extinct, of whom the poet says,

οὐ γὰρ πείσῃς, εἰ δ' ἂν πείσῃς*.

But this error, this darkness in the minds of the unlearned, arises from their not being able to look so far back, as to deliver themselves from the prejudice of early education, which instilled into them a contempt and aversion for the Ages of Faith, and it is not easy for the mind to put off these confused notions it has imbibed from custom, inadvertency, and common conversation: their understanding being its own mirror, they cannot see "what a small pittance of reason and truth, or rather, that none at all is mixed with those huffing opinions they are swelled with; they cannot look beyond popular sounds, and observe what ideas are, or are not, comprehended under those words with which they are so armed at all points, and with which they so confidently lay about them." Of Catholics, one may truly say, in the words of the Roman orator, "*Dum hominum genus erit, qui accuset eos non deerit.*" Thus many will be kept at a distance from that Jerusalem, where they would find peace. "O celestial city," exclaims St. Augustin, "I who am a poor pilgrim in this life, not yet enjoying thy peace, but proclaiming thy peace, not for my own sake proclaiming it, like those who seek their own glory, saying, Peace, and not having the peace which they preach to the people, for if they had peace they would not sever unity: I will proclaim thy peace: but wherefore? *Propter fratres meos et proximos meos*: not *propter honorem meum*, not *propter pecuniam meam* †."

As for the preceding narratives and disputations, against which some teachers of the modern philosophy warn men as dangerous to youth, they have at least the merit of not having been presented for the sake of money, like those which are purposely seasoned to catch purchasers, "*ut undique colligatur pecunia, quæ in sumtus impensa est,*" as Calvin said after printing his first work †.

"From poor scholars, clad carelessly," as Dante says, "in common stuff like others of the people's sons," of

* Aristoph.

† In Ps. cxxii.

‡ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, l.

whom Odofred complains, that " they are not good payers, wishing to learn but not to pay," it would have been alien to the nature of one who had their habits, to seek any other recompense but gentle interchange of courtesy; and to accept the trash of rich men, who purchase the books of those with whom they are at tacit war, and esteem all things light, if weighed against their gold, would have been to cast discredit upon all that I had written. From other sentiments, therefore, than from charity, for the benefit of the poor alone, this work was sold, of which the cost to the last obol, has been paid by him who wrote it. It may, indeed, prove dangerous in a certain sense to some; for from its pages, reader, thou well mayst mark what reason those men have to plead, by whom the holy banner is withstood; but the cry it raiseth, smites as the wind doth the proudest summits; which is of honour no light argument.

I can truly say with a poet, " that I sought not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand was to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom, to answer solidly, or to be convinced."

And indeed, to use the words of another ancient writer, since the ever praiseworthy wisdom of the Catholic Church is full of virtue, breeding delightfulness, and void of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning; since the blames laid against it are either false or feeble; since the cause why it is not esteemed in England is the fault of calumniators, and, perhaps, of apes of religion, such as made Crito say to Socrates, that when he looked at the sophists he could not think of instructing his son in philosophy, not of the religion itself, not *αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος*, as Socrates would observe to him: since our tongue was long found most fit to honour it, and to be honoured by it, why should we despair of England? Have we not reason to hope, that she will not for ever scorn the sacred mysteries of faith and Rome that watches over them; that she will not continue to ridicule the name of priests, as though they were next inheritors to fools; that she will not continue to jest at their reverend and holy ceremonies; but that she will be brought to believe, with the Apostles and holy fathers, that these things are full of divine truth; to believe with all learned historians, that these priests having

from Rome their mission, were the first bringers-in of all civility; to believe with philosophers, so well represented by *Picus of Mirandula*, that without them morality is an empty sound; to believe with political economists, of whom they admit *Degerando* as a leader, that their institutions can alone preserve society from the horrors of pauperism, and servile wars; to believe with those who have found pleasure in the preceding books, that the manners which they taught, were truly those inculcated from the mountain; lastly, to believe the one voice of these past ages themselves, when they tell her that they will make her happy and glorious by their faith. Yes, let us hope England may be won; that the words of *Isaiah* may be applicable to her: "*Quæ erat arida erit in stagna, et sitiens in fontes aquarum;*" for once enlightened, her wishes rest for ever here—won by that she of her own generous nature covets most—won, the country of *Cowper* by fervent, true, and undefiled devotion; the country of *Johnson*, by the inestimable riches of good sense, of which Catholicism is full in all its parts; the country of *Milton*, by the love of heavenly musings, and of embodying the sacred lore in bright poetic forms; the country of *Bacon*, by whatever tends to the augmentation of solid learning and to the stability and decorum of the social state; the country of *Addison*, by the food prepared, as if expressly for its instinct of the correct and orderly, which every unruly passion quells; the country of *Shakspeare*, by that which makes every flower of genius to germin in eternal peace; the country of *Sterne*, by pity mild, relenting mercy, deep and tender sentimentality; in fine, the country of so many saints, poets, moralists, and philosophers, by the tears and graces of that Holy Mother, of the everlasting counsel pre-ordained to be to mortal men, of hope, of charity, and love, the living spring, the sole ennobler of their nature. Then will she learn from her own experience, that, in the holy Catholic and Roman faith, is all sustenance for the high intellectual and moral life of a people; that it alone possesses the great secret for inheriting both earth and heaven, all that can sweeten and compose to order the uncertain wanderings of the human existence, and all that can exalt with innocence as a preparation for everlasting beatitude, the dignity and happiness of man.

"*Rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut quemadmodum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur* *." Such was the idea of the Roman historian, which, at present, some repeat, in whose looks is marked expectance, as if time were to extend their span beyond their country's chastisement; but, in divine things, we have no reason for assurance, that such recurrence is in the order of Providence ordained. "It is a mysterious indescribable process, that of acquiring faith—indescribable as all vital acts are." If we are to credit some, to dignity thus lost, for nations there is no return, and if we hear the voice of old philosophy, the prospects for the future are dark indeed.

Hermes Trismegistus predicts the horrible depravity that will reign in the world immediately before the final judgment. "The soul, and all that concerns it," says that mysterious voice, "will be derided as vanity, and it will be deemed a crime worthy of death to apply the mind to religion. New laws will be constituted; nothing holy, nothing religious will be believed; wicked angels only will remain, who will impel wretched men to wars, rapines, frauds, and all things that are contrary to the nature of souls. This will be the old age of the world, irreligious, disordered, and insensible to all good. Lo the signs of an universal judgment!"

On the other hand, in various ages of the Church, some have anticipated an age of untroubled order, in which the Church would reign as if triumphant upon earth. The angel of the school had to combat in his sum the execrable book, entitled the eternal Gospel, which was burnt by order of the Holy See, whose adherents termed Joachimites, as it was ascribed to Joachim, were again condemned by the Council of Arles, and long after it, by Pope John XXII. The words of St. Thomas are, that we must not expect any future state on earth, in which men will possess more perfectly than hitherto, the grace of the Holy Spirit†. But whether nations once by sin disfranchised will return to the faith which they formally renounced, and from the chief good receiving light cause Catholic manners, in their freshness and simplicity, to revive again; whether men separated from truth will be vouchsafed the justice "to put down

* Tacitus, An. iii.

† L. 2. Q. 106. a. 43.

their own selfishness at every turn, and the courage to stand by the dangerous true at every turn," whether, when they have power to seek the hallowed place again, the inquirers we hear about will be themselves led to quaff of the clear spring, or, what may Heaven avert, act only as those who, journeying through the darkness, bear a light behind, that profits, not their own feet, but makes their followers wise, are questions which posterity will be more able to answer than ourselves. To some historical events we might indeed look back to warrant hopes, such as to the reconciliation of Sargans with the Catholic Church, after its professing Protestantism for a long time, and to the return of the Toggenburgers to faith, after an interval of forty years, during which mass was never said, and to the reconciliation of the Church of Bernardzell, in 1588, "*quæ facta fuerat spelunca latronum*," as old historians add *. But these precedents it must be allowed are not adequate to the desires of an historian. Still our cry must be, "*Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion; ut ædificetur muri Jerusalem;*" for, as Manfredi says to Dante:

" Yet, by their curse we are not so destroyed,
But that th' eternal love may turn, while hope
Retains her verdant blossom †."

To the omnipotent Physician, as St. Augustin says, no languor is incurable ‡, and through pious prayers below, to-day's is made to-morrow's destiny.

Englishmen, it is true, at present, are not such as adored at Calvary when they followed Richard to the Holy Land; their manners are not those of the beatitudes; yet

" This need not be; they might arise, and will that gold should
Lose its power, war its glory—that love, which none
May bind, be free to fill the world with light."

As Lucan says, that his country, after so many battles, would not reject peace, even though that peace came with a master §: so might one suppose that this poor country, unless she absolutely prefers the furies to the

* Ildefons von Arx, *Gesch. des S. Gallen*, iii.

† *Purg.* iii.

‡ In *Ps.* cii.

§ *vil.*

angels, would return with joy to the bosom of that tender mother, so dear to Him, from whom is all that soothes the life of man, his high endeavour, and his glad success, his strength to suffer and his will to serve.

O! England, what monitors hast thou had even from thy wandering fold to reprove thy devious ways! But why are the same complaints from age to age re-echoed? Why are thy Cowper's woes the woes still of all the good that love thee? Alas! for these monitors themselves! This is the reward of ignorance of good, *τῆς ἀπειροκαλίας* *. Like him they rail at the recluse of France, even in their works on charity denying that he had charity; and yet he only wished what they wished. They rail at Italy; and yet in that fair land of peaceful joy are ever found the fruits they treasured most, domestic peace, contentment, large munificence, and contemplation that always Heaven with love and awe regards! They rail at old England's "priests with bulls and briefs, and shaven crowns," and know not that these were the men who gathered the people together into one Church, and kingdoms that they should serve the Lord, producing thereby the manners that they would see revive and flourish. The holy name is on their lips; "but of what avail is it," asks St. Augustin, "to give no offence to the father who will avenge the injury of the mother? Of what avail, if you confess the Lord and honour God, and preach Him and acknowledge His Son and blaspheme His Church? Let the examples of a human marriage teach you †." Books they send forth beautiful and sad, but what skills this perpetual loquacity? while you, like the philosophers of old, are writing your letters in the minds of the proud, the Church is fixing the cross in the hearts of the humble, many of them kings. So long as you seek only how to talk, St. Augustin says, you can never be directed "*Cognovi, quia faciet Dominus judicium egentis.*" The needy is full, not of words, but of desires; the talkative abounds. "How much better would it be," says St. Augustin, "if we should all know, and no one should teach another; that there should not be one talking and another hearing, but that all should be hearing that one voice, of which it is said, '*Auditui meo dabis gaudium et lætitiā*?' whence that John

* St. Clem. Alex. *Pædag.*

† In Ps. lxxxix.

rejoiced, not because he preached and spoke, but because he heard." This joy of taciturnity, this joy of hearing, is found only in the Catholic Church. If you were truly benevolent, you would not wish to be always remonstrating, always teaching, which necessity must continue where you are, if still relentless; but you would desire that there should be no one who required the teaching of man; and, instead of persevering to teach without, you would invite all to return with you to hear within.

From early times there have been men without the Church, who seemed to think that they were within; that all might be well again without a palinode; that things were still as in days of blessed unity, and as they had ever been from the first, saying "Peace be with you" to those whom they separated from the peace of the Universal Church, and who replied, "And with thy spirit," while embracing dissensions and perpetuating the breach of unity. But, at his own discretion, none may shift the burden from his shoulders, unreleased by either key, the yellow and the white*.

"God helpe the men, so wrapt in errour's endlesse traine."

Did they not fear to hear the words of St. Augustin addressed to themselves: "Non hoc indicat superbia vestra, non hoc indicat vanitas vestra. Non sapitis, et foris estis †." There were moments when they seemed to look back on the Catholic unity which their fathers had broken, and on the Church which they had left, like fallen angels turning back their face to Paradise. Yet their habitual disposition with regard to it was indifference; for, like the French minister who suffers sublime monuments of history to be demolished, content with having procured copies of them on paper, they were willing that the original should be destroyed if they could but have its portrait; as if a printed page could be a substitute for the living book. So they spoke much about ceremonies and practices of piety, rather as religious antiquarians than simple believers; and observed them, as Timon says of his contemporaries, more through choice than

* Par. v.

† In Ps. ci.

obligation, καὶ οὗτος οὐ πᾶν ἀναγκαῖα ποιῶν δοκῶν ἀλλ' εἰς ἰθοῦς τι ἀρχαῖον συντελῶν. They procured copies of pinnacles and crosses, and even of the iron hinges of the old doors of churches; while the spiritual hinge, on which the whole system of religion turns, they were content to suppress for ever, forgetting that poetic delineations are not necessarily religious faith; that "faith itself must first be there, and then that these will gather round it, as the fit body round its soul." They spoke catholically often, but they did not try to speak consistently. They said, "There is one remedy for our calamities—the Catholic Church." Admirable! if St. Augustin or St. Anselm, or if St. Thomas of Canterbury had said it, who laboured and died in its defence, and whom the truth of God surrounded as with a shield; but these men, naked at all points, separate from her communion, lending all the authority of their station, their learning, and their virtue to her declared enemies; how could these take advantage of the privileges of faith? for they were, alas! despoiled of that treasure; "Atque his capiuntur imperiti," as Cicero says, "et propter hujusmodi sententias, istorum hominum est multitudo." Thus it was here. Men who, at least upon their verge of life, desired peace, were caught by the smoothness and dignity of a sentence; but their teachers would never have spoken as they did, if they had heard themselves; for what could be less consistent? The sequel of their words cloked their beginning; the last they spoke agreeing not with the first. Such men ought to have been met with their own handwriting, containing their oaths, and sealed with their seal, as Cicero says, "Tabellis obsignatis." What a contrast between their borrowed plumes and the colours which essentially belonged to the camp in which they served? Their brethren, whom they describe as most amiable men writing most unamiably, spoke out openly, and disputed against the Church; whether well, we do not ask, but certainly they spoke consistently; and I am not accustomed to reprehend a conclusion when the premises have been admitted by those who draw it. The others denied that any thing could be said by a Christian less like what is primitive and true; but I think nothing could be said more consistently, and, to those who differed from them in language, the words of St. Augustin

might have been well applied: "*Melius est ut tu vituperares quam dolose laudares.*" Both alike exemplified what St. Augustin said: "*Opinio diversa est, vanitas una est;*" for they still viewed, as one who hath an evil sight, plainly objects far remote; but when they approached, or actually existed near them, their intellect then wholly failed: nor of the faithful, except what old annals tell them, knew they aught. Hence their opinion, though nearest to the truth, led to no results. As Shirley says, theirs was the charity of some rich men,

"That, passing by some monument that stoops
With age, whose ruins plead for a repair,
Pity the fall of such a goodly pile,
But will not spare from their superfluous wealth
To be the benefactor."

Never did Catholics write more eloquently on things pertaining to the true discipline than those illustrious men, when they pleased; but let them pass by a chapel where its holy rites were still observed; and then, as a troop of maskers when they put their vizors off look other than before, the counterfeited semblance thrown aside, so these returned to those habits of vituperation, which others, in every respect besides unlike them, cultivated, muttering against Rome in token of their spite.

"How many ungrateful men," says St. Augustin, "are fed with the honey of the rock, which is the wisdom of Christ; how many are delighted with His word, from a knowledge of His sacraments, and by the solution of His parables; how many express delight, and say, nothing can be conceived sweeter or better: '*et tamen inimici Domini mentiti sunt ei* *.'" "

Obeys the Church, they said. True, obedience is necessary. "But," as Dante asks, "is he to be called obedient who follows perfidious as well as he who credits wise counsels? I answer," he continues, "that, for the first, his act is not to be called obedience, but transgression. If the king should prescribe one road and the servant another, to obey the servant would be to disobey the king. There would be transgression †." Why veil

* In Ps. lxxx.

† Convito, 24.

their cause beneath another standard? Ill is this followed of them who sever it and Rome. While some compared these yielding adversaries to naked champions smeared with slippery oil, who watch intent their place of hold and vantage, ere in closer strife they meet; others acquitting them of hostile aim, were wondering why these admirers of antiquity, instead of resting satisfied with a logician's transeat to an out-of-the-way argument, did not pass over at once to join the faithful; but, supposing the latter best informed, their surprise was groundless; for, as the old man observes in the Tables of Cebes, "those who think that they know what they do not know," and, from a necessity arising out of their position, none belong more justly to this category than the men we speak of, "are necessarily immovably fixed in the circle of false discipline, whatever impulse be given them towards the circle of the true discipline, into which men from the ranks of the profligate, who seemed far from approaching it, are daily received. These learned persons," he says, "who seemed to have been all their lives drawing nearer, were thus shut out, because repentance, μεταμέλεια, did not visit them and persuade them that they had not the true but the false discipline which had hitherto deceived them, and that while thus disposed οὐκ ἂν ποτε σωθίεν." Conformable to this ancient instruction is the advice of St. Augustin relative to such persons: "Auferes spiritum eorum, et in pulverem suum convertentur. A man understands something, it skills not what. He wishes it to be his; he has still his own spirit. It is good for him that he should lose his spirit, and have the spirit of God. As yet he is proud amongst the princes. It is good for him that he should return to his dust, and say, Memento, Domine, quia pulvis sumus*." And again, "ut videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur;" for in the judgment will be confounded, to their destruction, those who now are unwilling to be confounded to their recovery. Let them now be confounded; let them accuse their evil ways; let them keep the good way; for no one lives without confusion, unless he who has been made alive again after having been confused. God will furnish them with the means of a wholesome confusion, if they do not despise the medicine of confes-

* In Ps. lxxv.

sion; but if they are unwilling to be confounded now, they will be confounded hereafter, when their errors shall lead them to it against their will *. They saw many churches. "Indeed," said they, like the Bacchic reveller in his infatuation, "it seems to us as if we saw two suns and two Thebeses †."

Then St. Clement of Alexandria, shaping his language according to that image, would have invited them to the chaste mysteries of the word, to the mountain loved by God, not sung by tragedians, but consecrated in the drama of truth; a cloud-capt mountain, shaded with a holy grove, where the just are the chorus, virgins the songsters, angels the ministers, prophets the speakers, and the praises of God the music which floats over it. "There," he would add, "not leaning on the thyrsus, casting aside their mitre, and suffering themselves to be led by the hand of truth, the wood of the cross would be given to them for a staff, the face of Christ for a sun, so lustrous that it would illuminate the blind, and to those who could not discern Thebes, the spectacle of Heaven. O mysteries," he exclaims, "truly holy! O pure light that imparts holiness and delivers from night for evermore ‡!" They listen, but, alas! enter not as the initiated to be restored by the solemnity to Him who seeks to anoint them with the unction of faith, that they may be able to join in the common hymn, encircling His throne. They will pursue the insane dance, and cling to the dim torch, even while confessing that in their bewildered course it will never be sufficient to enable them to see their way.

It is a prophet's sentence, "*Populus iste dicit, Nondum tempus est ædificandi domum Domini. Miserrime, cur opus commendabile in biennium differt?*" At present also procrastination has its votaries. Why do you delay, and thus revive disputes for ever? "Are you waiting," as St. Augustin asks, "for some one to rise from the dead, to show you which is the Church? You have the prophets. Hear them while you have ears to hear, while you have a heart that can be moved §." "Plausibility," says one of your own guides, "must have an end, empty routine must have an end. Dilettan-

* In Ps. lxxxv.

† *Protrepticus*, 12.

‡ Eurip. *Bacc.* 916.

§ In Ps. cxlvii.

tism, hypothesis, speculation: this kind of amateur search for truth, toying and coquetting with truth, all this must have an end*."

It is not safe to reckon upon the transitory vapour of mortal life, as St. Augustin styles it,

" Labitur occulte, fallitque volabilis ætas,
Et nihil est annis velocius."

The time when "all shall changed bee," as Spenser says, "and when thenceforth none no more change shall ever see," will come at all events too late for many.

γέροντα δ' ὀρθοῦν φλαῦρον, ὅς νεός τις γ' †.

And as for books of fair promises and tardy concessions, many will have to say, like Gardiner, "Let them, with Latin and Greek, continue as long as it shall please God: we are almost past heeding them." "Men are slow to wisdom," says a Platonist, "and quick to death." Not for ourselves we hope, but for their sakes who after us remain.

When Ulysses prepares to escape from the island of Calypso, the wise poet represents him exerting himself, and labouring with his own hands to secure the means, cutting down the timber for the ship and forming it ‡.

So man, when he seeks to return to his true country, must not expect to arrive at it waiting, expecting, sleeping, without any personal exertion.

—— πάντα τὰ ζητούμενα
δεῖσθαι μερίμνης φασὶν οἱ σοφώτατοι §.

Homer too, observe, makes no mention of Ulysses taking formal leave of the goddess: he only says, "that on the fifth day of his preparations he departed." In all this we have lessons for ourselves, as clear nearly as those of holy men, when they tell us with the great St. Anthony, not to return to a city in which we may have sinned against God ||.

* Carlyle.

§ Menander.

† CEd. Col. 395.

|| S. Antonii Sermo.

‡ Od.

Men take leave of error with too much ceremony; they speak too much about their nation, about the world; seeming to forget that each one of us here, let the nation and the world believe or not believe, "has a life of his own to lead, one life; a little gleam of time between two eternities; no second chance to us for evermore*." You should, therefore, look to yourselves; and, having once caught sight of truth, hoist all your sails to follow her, heedless of the nation or the world's remonstrance. If you must wait for all to follow, I fear as Dante says,

"Your choice may haply meet too long delay."

"Eia age, rumpe moras; quo te sperabimus usque?
Dum, quid sis, dubitas, jam potes esse nihil †."

Ulysses again, through desire to save them, makes his companions weep. After they had tasted the lotus, none of them wished to return.

ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι λωτοφάγοισιν
λωτὸν ἔρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν νόστου τε λαθίσθαι.
τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἄγον κλαίοντες ἀνάγκη,
νηυσὶ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῷσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ δῆσα ἐρύσσας ‡.

Thus should men act towards brethren, when they find them so infatuated, as to think no more of escaping to their true country. "Vox Domini commoventis solitudinem:" there has been often heard in our land a voice moving to faith those who were without God and hope in this world, where no prophet, no preacher of the truth was heard. The whole Church militant on earth was praying for them, "that to their eyes unveiled might shine at last the light, sole object of their wish, that so might heaven's grace clear whatsoever of foam floats turbid on the conscience, that thenceforth the stream of mind should roll limpid from its source."

To those who heard that voice and followed it, the words of the ancient tragic muse might have been without irreverence addressed; For you, O redeemed of men, beheld an image of yourselves in that afflicted wanderer, whose crime and deliverance have been immortalized by

* Carlyle.

† Martial.

‡ ix. 95.

poets. O you, the wise might have exclaimed, who by the unsearchable counsels of heaven have been employed to kill your mother, that mother of Christians, that Church which claimed you as her own from the baptismal wave; you who have wandered from shore to shore, driven an exile through all the wastes of human speculation, till instructed at length by the God of love and harmony, you have sought to lay hold of the sacred emblems which belong to faith and primal sanctity,—O seize the happy hour, and fly from that inhospitable port, more fatal than that of Scythian Taurus, where the souls of strangers are daily offered up on the shrine of a cold and barbarous misbelief. Fly from that benighted region, from that horrid servitude, to the assemblies of your native clime, to the sweet groves where the palm-trees with luxuriant foliage, and the laurel with rich boughs, and the branches of the green olive, proclaim final victory and endless peace, to the cool waters that will for ever quench that ardent thirst, which has so long oppressed you; to that lake which rolls the water frequented by swans, where the swan with his melody will invite you to join with him in the songs of praise that rise to God from all his faithful creatures. But be prepared for danger, when you first throw off these chains of the ministers that thought to attend you to your death. While within their port, your bark seemed to move securely; but it will no sooner pass the mouth, than the waves of the great ocean will rise to oppose your passage, and the dreadful wind which blows upon it will suddenly raise them into mountains, to force you back if possible. O how terrible it would be, were you forced back again upon that shore where all is death, and to lose for ever these bright prospects which were opening to rejoice you. Take courage then, and make proof of heroic piety, and, like that son of Agamemnon, fall to your prayers and cry,—Save me, save me to my country from the barbarous land! and cease not to labour with naked arms for your own deliverance, straining every nerve to ply those oars that are to make head against the billows' force; while the ministers of fate will hasten to their deluded chief, demanding aid and vengeance; for men too, those whom you have left behind will prepare to follow you with all temporal terror, and to take advantage of these elements which seem to

oppose themselves to your escape ; they will hasten, like Thoas, invoking God, and encouraging each other to pursue impious men, for such are the titles you will hear from them. There will be a spectacle worthy of angels, while your frail bark is buffeted by these furious waves, and driven between horrid rocks ; and the furious men that are indignant at your escape will stand on the shore with outstretched arms ready to seize you, being already confident of making you their prey ! O then it can only be the descent and intervention of God, that can save you. It is God that will proclaim the everlasting decree that delivers you from wrath ; then may the joyful chorus rise to you :

Ἰτ' ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ, τῆς σωζομένης
μοίρας, εὐδαίμονες ὄντες.
Ὡ μέγα σιμνὴ Νίκᾳ, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίον κατέχουσ,
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα *.

Yet, even after having escaped these rocks, there may be dangers still ; for, as St. Augustin says, sometimes where there are no rocks ships run foul of each other and perish ; so that there is not security even in the true harbour, though it is safer in the harbour, where, if ships are well managed, there will be no collision. Let there be only observed equable rights, the constancy of charity, and, when the wind blows strong from the mouth, a cautious look-out †. What are your dangers in the harbour of truth ? First, say our masters, those that are internal within your own breasts, from the impatience of a mind long unused to discipline. “ We see a man,” says St. Augustin, “ who was indifferent and indolent before he was a Christian. You cry to him daily ; it is almost impossible to convert him. At length, being converted, he cries to others ; he wishes that all were immediately Christians ; and he wonders that they are not so as yet ‡.” And besides, in truth, it takes a long time to initiate the mind in wisdom, and of the raw material, which is found in the wild forest of the moral world, to make a Catholic. Many years may be required. If one long undisciplined, soon as his feet are to the Church

* Eurip. Iph. in Taur.

† In Ps. xcix.

‡ In Ps. lviii.

reclaimed, should instantly suppose that all was done; and begin to pull, and push, and haul, and fling away, and modify, and bring back, and re-model, and innovate, just as his own opinion or his own standard of taste may move him, saying, with Ulysses,

*ἀλλὰ μάλ' ὧδ' ἔρξω, δοκίει ἔῃ μοι εἶναι ἀριστον **

he may injure both himself and others, before an alarm is given. He must wait, they tell us, and become a child again, put his old habits off, pass as a pilgrim, as an exile to foreign lands, pray in churches where he is a stranger, where only Christ, in sacramental presence, His blessed mother, and the saints, know who he is, join in the loud psalmody of their choirs, and meditate on what he sings; meet with rebuffs, privation, and indifference, till he acquire the patience and self-renouncement which are only formed after long seasoning; for the essence of that material, in its green state, is to be headstrong, passionate, easily provoked, rash, self-opiniated, destructive. Again, within the Church you find rocks of offence; some that have been deplored by others before you from the commencement, and others that may be peculiar to your age and country; for, though you have believed, and obtained the two wings of the twofold charity, the iniquity of the world abounds; and therefore the charity of many will grow cold. In this life amidst so many scandals, so many sins, such a crowd of daily temptations, of daily evil suggestions, you have a great sea to pass, and in the night too, when you may fear that the darkness will prove your ruin†: first, you may be greeted with words from feeble, decrepit brethren, that will seem to have regard to those of Galgacus to the mountaineers of Caledonia: "In the family of slaves, the last comer is the laughing-stock of his companions." Thus each catechumen may be received in some countries through disastrous influence of the place, where, instead of that certain divine influence, which Plato attributed to some lands‡, custom goads to evil, and where the perfection of charity does not supply the imperfection of knowledge, as Pope Innocent desired§.

* Od. v. 356.

† De Legibus, iii.

‡ In Ps. cxxxviii.

§ Lib. i. Decret. i. 10.

Again, you will find chaff amidst the wheat, as was always found. Instead of pitying the dust of Zion, the dust from the ruined Jerusalem, and praying that He who formed Adam from dust may convert this dust into fervent believers, you fall into discouragement, and say with poets :

“ The ample proposition that hope makes
In all designs begun on earth below,
Fails in the promised largeness ; checks and disasters
Grow in the veins of action highest rear’d.”

You entered the harbour hoping for perfect security, not knowing that the wind could sometimes blow from the mouth, so as to cause a collision between ships within it. You entered an uncautious praiser, suppressing all mention of the evil, not knowing that you should praise the Church as the Scriptures of God praise it, saying, “ *Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, sic proxima mea in medio filiarum* ;” not knowing that if the lily pleaseth, you must bear with the thorns ; that if those who condemn ought to say that there are good amongst the evil, those who praise should say that there are evil mixed with the good. “ For, let no one deceive you,” adds St. Augustin, “ if you wish not to be deceived, and if you wish to love your brethren, know that in every profession of the Church there are counterfeits *.” You entered, expecting to find Catholic manners wherever men professed to have faith, and justly requiring them ; for if they remain not in our land, those glorious architects, who rear once more her churches upon the ashes left by Cromwell and Elizabeth, will labour without profit of their toil ; and, instead of the supernatural virtues which belong to faith, you may happen to witness merely those of uninitiated human nature. For, to use the words of a great historian, “ *Ut corpora lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur ; sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertię dulcedo ; et invisa primo desidia, postremo amatur †.*” Thus, while you look for the choral worship and the psalmody of the holy hours, or at least the peace of the inviolable sanctuary, you may find every sacred portal, excepting at a few rare intervals, barred ; as if, during an

* In Ps. xcix.

† Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

interdict like that in the year 1200 within France, when a contemporary exclaimed : " O quam horrificum, imo quam miserabile in singulis civitatibus per id temporis erat spectaculum, valvas ecclesiarum obseratas cernere *."

While you look for the alms of the middle ages, and repeat the words of the philosopher, " tanto laudabilior munificentia, quod ad illam non impetu quodam sed consilio trahimur †," you will hear that men are not taken well who have not dined :

" The veins unfill'd, their blood is cold, and then
They pout upon the morning, are unapt
To give or to forgive ; but when they've stuff'd
These pipes, and these conveyances of blood
With wine and feeding, they have suppler souls
Than in the priestlike fast they deem so mischievous."

And those you meet with, perhaps, will even heartily agree with the old satirist, in affirming that, " En quaresme sont toutes maladies semées, et que c'est la vraye pépinière, la naïfve couche et promoconde de tous maux." You entered, thinking that no greedy corsair, full of party zeal, could pass the bar that hems the peaceful port ; and you find priests whose aim is how to keep off not the wolves, but fellow-labourers from the fold, that their unaided efforts cannot tend. There will be occasions, too, which might demand the laugh of Hannibal, not so unseasonable as the absurd tears that may be shed for the loss of money, when vanity must pay the forfeiture ; for the time for tears was, when they first exchanged the bright golden armour of the old Catholic saints for this brass lacquered over by modern hands, giving up usages like that priest-like abstinence of ancient sanctity, and of the old knightly honour well approved ; choosing to dwell in the tents of sinners, of dull, proud, prosaic sinners, rather than continue abject, according to their silly estimation, in the house of the Lord ; conforming, in manners and rules of life, to the base rout that holds the Church, and all the majesty of ancient worth, in scorn, as far as such corruption can have any sense. It was then that they should have wept : but when they complain like children on reaping the fruits which they have sown with their own hands, and weep like women appalled at the

* Rad. Cogesh.

† Plin. Epist. viii. 1.

events which are merely the natural consequences of the kind of pre-eminence their hearts were bent on, to obtain which they had long been moving heaven and earth with prayers and murmurs, surely there must be some spectators, whatever may be their agony within, more inclined to laughter than to tears. "*Amisit nummum, gemit, says St. Augustin; "amisit fidem, non gemit. Gemo et ego, et hoc gemo quia male gemunt."*

"Some men," says St. Augustin, "seem to be just; we rejoice; and we must needs rejoice, for charity cannot be without joy. But afterwards, if any thing evil be discovered in these men, which often happens, there follows a sadness proportionate to that first joy, so that a man fears again to give the reins to rejoicing; and, struck with abundant scandals, as if with many wounds, he closes human consolation against himself, and refuses to be consoled*. *Ego autem in te speravi, Domine. Nothing better, nothing more secure. You wish to imitate I know not whom, and you have found him not to be good. Well, you abandon him and seek another. In him, too, there is what displeases. You seek a third, and neither does he satisfy you. And because this or that man displeases you, are you to perish? Cease to place your hope in man? Recedant humana nomina, humana crimina, humana figmenta. In te, Domine, speravi †."*

But to resume our retrospect, since it is time for parting. All is seen; and now, methinks, some who have found in the preceding books answers to their doubts, as Dante says, "look at each other, as men look when truth comes to their ear ‡" There are not wanting from among followers of the opposing banner voices to repeat the praises of the ages of faith; but I list not to defend them with the help of these concessions of scornful men, who often aim their darts most keenly when they most concede. "I know thee, for thou art the Holy One of God," said even the malignant one himself; but as a holy writer observes, "far otherwise, and with a different affection is that name sanctified in heaven, where with such unutterable joy is shouted, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth §.*" Others may apologise,

* In Ps. lxxvi.

† In Ps. xxx.

‡ Hell. xvi.

§ Thom. Kemp. Serm. ii.

plead for Catholic ages, for canonized pontiffs, and for holy kings, as for culprits before the world; but after such a course as ours has been, for some at least, the saints and the world have already changed places, and instead of talking of arraigning them at its bar, and of attempting to excuse them, it is for them to find it shrink and vanish. We have seen that these ages are worthy of all praise, and that what dispraise may be set upon them is either easily overcome or transformed into just commendation; but since their excellence may be so justly confirmed, let us rather seek to imitate than to praise them; for, though their fame I would with duteous zeal embalm, they need not our praises; therefore St. Bernard, in a passage which the Church reads during the octave of All Saints, exclaims, "Of what avail is all our praise? to what end our glorification of them? What is the use of this our solemnity itself? Clearly not they, but we, are interested when we venerate their memory."

As the Roman philosopher, on his return to Italy, after Pompey's death, betook himself to his books, saying, "A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus nunc vero etiam salutem;" so our contemporaries, by means of their writings, should live chiefly with the men of better, wiser, happier ages, whose lively words can still shed new heat and vigour through their souls. As another philosopher said, *πείθεσθαι δὲ ὄντως αἰεὶ χρὴ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τε καὶ ἱεροῖς λόγοις* *, so they should trust their testimony; for they had a practical faith in the great traditions of religion, which later times only profess coldly with the lips. "Youth," says Dante, "on entering the deceitful forest of this life, cannot find the right path, unless those who have more experience point it out †" Let the race of men then now living, as an ancient father says, "study the lives and writings of those who preceded it, who could penetrate to the deep and secret things of moral truth more easily than it can do, now that the charity of many is growing cold, that iniquity is abounding, that the improbity of unbelievers is gaining strength, that the deceits of Antichrist are drawing nearer."

In the middle ages was constituted a state of Christian society which in the days of the Apostles had not been

* Plat. Epist. vii.

† Convito, xxiv.

completely organized ; but as art does not exclude nature, as that is greatly natural in art, which nature admits of being done well, so that is primitive in Christianity, which can be done with charity, humility, and justice. If men lose all trace of those who walked in the path of the beatitudes, they will find themselves indeed bewildered in this life's fretful fever, and driven sooner or later to the bitter avowal made by Cicero : they may then repeat despairing, " *Habeo quem fugiam ; quem sequar, non habeo.*" But if they follow patiently the clue thrown out to them by those who went before in these Catholic ages, there need be no fear of not arriving at their wished-for end ; for they will then have admirable examples and express rules for each emergency, which even the wisest of the moderns admit to be infallible, as when Grotius, speaking of the scholastic doctors, says, "*Ubi in re morum consentiunt, vix est ut errent* *."

In marking well their footsteps, they will have that resource which the wise ancients would have prized †, as furnishing the most effectual means of making progress in high worth ; for virtue here assumes a body, so that men cannot be insensible to its presence. Here are no metaphysical abstractions or ideal characters, like the poet of Juvenal,

" *Hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum* ‡,"

but living realities, imparting almost that result of personal experience, which makes Lear in the rough night remember the sufferings of poor naked wretches,

" That bide the pelting of the pitiless storm !"

and exclaim,

" O, I have ta'en too little care of this !"

Consorting with these worthies of a believing age, pomp will thus be led to feel as if it had exposed itself to suffer " what wretches feel ;" and similarly, all the vices in level opposition with the eight graces of beatific life, like full sails bellying in the wind, which if the mast break sud-

* *De Jure Bel. ac Pac. Prolog.*

† Xenophon, *de Venatione*, xii.

‡ vii.

denly collapse, will shrink down discountenanced. He whom each perverts will return to himself and say, as if a pilgrim visiting some holy place, O! I have taken too little heed to become like these men, poor in spirit, meek, and apt for blessed mourning, too little care to desire justice, to feel and exercise compassion, to cleanse my heart, to be pacific, and to suffer persecution on account of justice. Memory will be hope and faith itself, to chase for ever what some now call the delusion of disenchantment; for of the joy to come, it will yield sure expectance, teaching men to lift up their eyes unto the mountain, and rejoin those who are already in the life of glory far advanced; that they may climb stairs which other feet have overcome; that they are not the first along this upward way, that they follow others as St. Bernard says, "Prædecessores sequimur." They not only follow, but they see them, and they know too that they are seen by them: so that having this resource, none can refuse to ascend the steep without a sense of shame, that can of itself invigorate.

Whether they ride through groves and meadows, discoursing like Lorenzo de Medicis with Angelo Politian *, or remain solitary in the secret laboratory of their houses, like Cardan, who says he is addicted to perpetual cogitation, revolving many and great things, and such even as cannot be †, they may be said to hear the voice of our fathers, speaking to them out of the depths of ages. And what a voice is that! The philosopher said, that we ought to choose some man of exalted worth, and have him as it were always before our eyes, that so we might be constantly under his inspection, and acting as if he saw us ‡. Here they have found not one only, but innumerable observers; each of whom seems to address them in the words of Hecuba,

— ὡς γραφεύς τ' ἀποσταθεῖς
ἰδοῦ με*

not beings of another order, from their own nature, at infinite distance eternally removed, stars in the moral

* *Miscellaneorum Centuriæ, Præf.*

† *De Vita Propria, i. 13.*

‡ *Seneca, Epist. xi.*

world fixed, and without parallax; but men like themselves, who, as St. Ambrose says, "we know were not of a better nature, but more observant, nec vitia nesciisse sed emendasse," the memory of whom alone can impart that high spirit, which Dante ascribes to the illustrious race of Conrad Malaspina, the privilege that while the world is twisted from his course, it should walk aright, and have the evil way in scorn; privilege he well might prize, seeing how fare the multitude who have that way, not in derision, as they should if honour could be heard, but in very great respect, as worthy of imitation, as far as can be without an open avowal of apostasy. Here in these books they stand like mirrors, from which to men reflected shine the judgments of our God. Let them study these as a painter stands before an original, gazing upon it. Wondering they may gaze, like Dante, on the universe of love, and admiration still be kindled as they gaze.

The noble mansion, we are told, is most distinguished by the beautiful images it retains of beings passed away; and so is the noble mind. It most resembles that divine mind, which, as the great Æschylus says, "sees all things in itself painted as on one leaf comprised:"

ὁ εἰς λογράφῳ ὃ ἐ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενὶ *.

But since "each lesser nature is but scant receptacle unto that Good, which knows no limit, measured by itself alone†," let men remember ever that the visage of these saintly lights was to the sun that filled them ever turned, as to the good whose plenitude of bliss sufficeth all,—that these bright trophies of Christ's triumph won with either palm, were but lowly followers in the train of the Omnipotent Sire, who dwelleth sole in himself, and of himself is solely understood, who by His grace to this perceptible has lifted them,—that they ever proclaimed themselves to be but mere reflected splendours, satellites that wait in faint distance circling upon the sun of angels from whom all drew their radiance. So that when the book is closed, and the long pageantry shall have passed away, the lesson may be that which I

* Eumen. 275.

† Par. xix.

once read upon the funeral dark hangings after a mass of requiem, which bore the motto of the dead man's house, in the old language of his province, "Re que Diou."

The solemn train went forth; the dense crowd followed it; the noise of horses and of marshals grew fainter and fainter; some few devout contemplatists, who had remained to pray, by degrees passed out after those who had gone before: at length all sounds died away, and silence reigned alone, while in large characters inscribed upon the walls between the plumes, and scutcheons, and symbols of departed greatness, one still read, "Re que Diou."

So now you have the epilogue, lest you should regard me as neglectful; and I have protracted it as the poet took leave of his youth,

"Ter limen tetigi; ter sum revocatus; et ipse
Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat."

I only hope that it may have been profitable, as when the philosopher of old disputed in the groves of Tusculum, *Εἰρηται λόγος*. Expect no more mimic signs from me, who must fall into the rear, whence truant fancy, rather than deliberate presumption tempted me to emerge, and henceforth own myself the lowest.

The anthems for the festival of All Saints, which first suggested this course of historical inquiry, may be repeated as the best conclusion; and with the voice of holy choirs let us end. "Admirabile est nomen tuum, Domine, quia gloria et honore coronasti sanctos tuos. Domine, spes sanctorum, et turris fortitudinis eorum, dedisti hæreditatem timentibus nomen tuum, et habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo in sæcula." May the King of Angels lead us to the society of the supernal citizens. May they whose festival we have illustrated intercede for us to the Lord. May that blessed host of heavenly spirits drive from us all evils, past, present, and to come.

"Præterita, præsentia,
Futura mala pellite."

With Gervase, concluding his long Chronicle, I add,

"Finito libro reddatur gratia Christo:"

and with Ratherius of Verona, presuming to substitute another name, which here I am compelled to register :

“ Qui cœpisse librum dederas finire dedisti,
Cunctipotens, famulo dando rogata tuo,
Hunc ego Kenelmus pro te quia ferre laborem
Suscepi, probra dilue Christe mea.”

THE END.







